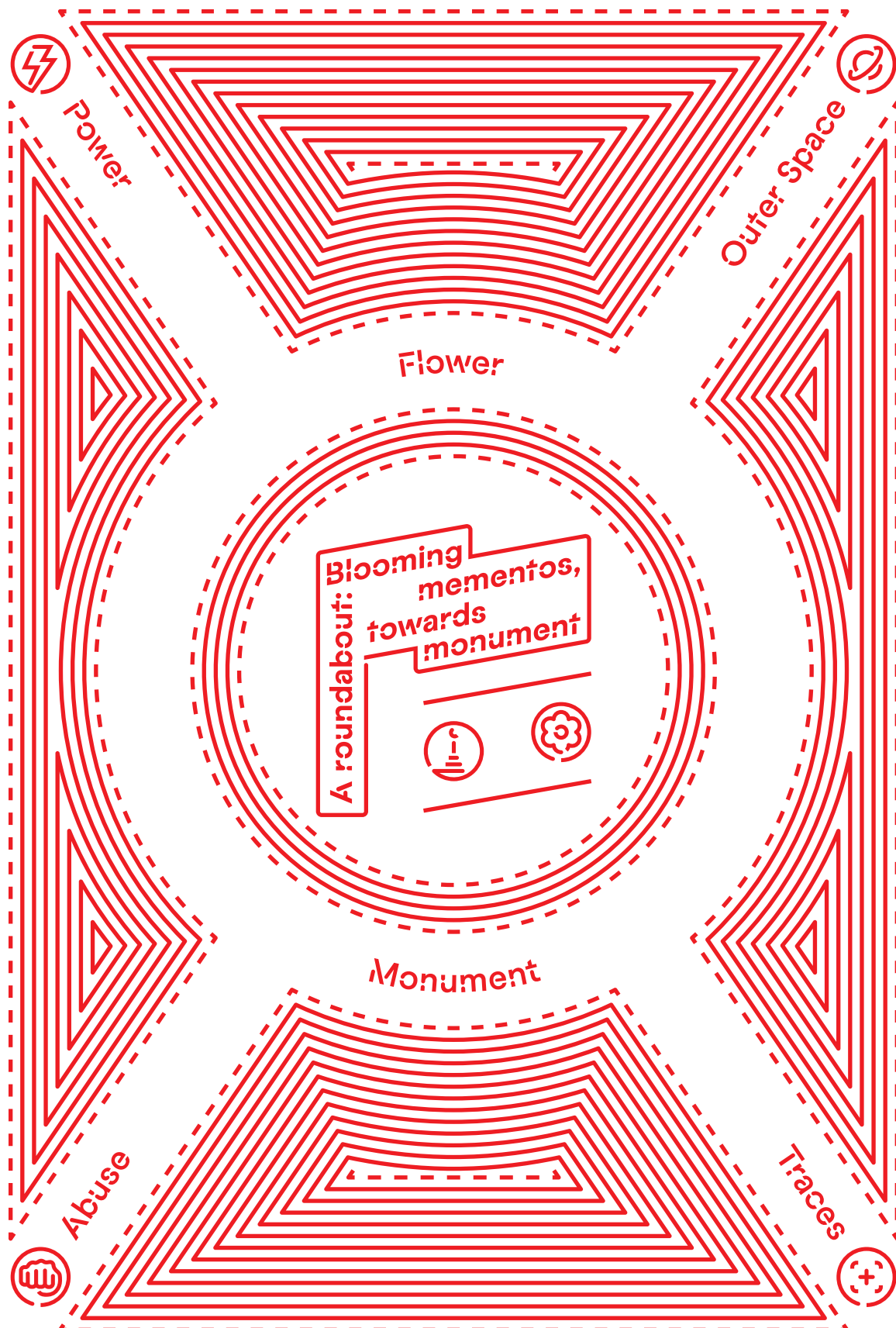




A roundabout:
Blooming mementos,
towards monument

Hyphen—



www.hyphen.web.id

**A roundabout:
Blooming
mementos,
towards
monument**

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A roundabout: Blooming mementos, towards monument

A research showcase as part of *The Shattered Worlds: Micro narratives from the Ho Chi Minh Trail to the Great Steppe*, an exhibition at Jim Thompson Art Center & Bangkok Art and Culture Center, 3 April–7 July 2025, curated by Gridthiya Gawee Wong with Rinrada Na Chiangmai and Chanapol Janhom.

Research & curatorial

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Kustiyah
Nadiyah Bamadhaj
Nasikin Ahmad (Telo Studio)
Paduan Suara Dialita (Dialita Choir)
Paduan Suara Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat (LEKRA Choir)
Siti Ruliyati
Viroj Chiamchirawat

Collections

Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI, National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia)
Art Centre of Silpakorn University
DC Collection
Griya Seni Hj. Kustiyah Edhi Sunarso
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Museum of Yugoslavia
Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia (National Library of Indonesia)
Siti Ruliyati Estate

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Arie Syarifuddin

Exhibition photography by Chanapol Janhom, Jukkrit Hanpipatpanich, & Swita Uancharoenkul.
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Table of contents

35. Dunia Milik Kita [The World Is Ours] ⚡

2. Asia Afrika Bersatu [Asia Africa Unite] ⚡

54. Basoeki Abdullah ⚡

85. Api Cubana [Cuban Fire] ⚡

98. Lagu Persahabatan Tiongkok-indonesia [Chinese-indonesian Friendship Song] ⚡

44. Taman Mini Indonesia Indah [TMII, Beautiful Indonesia Miniature] ⚡

45. Non-Aligned Movement ⚡

72. Gold in Papua ⚡

75. Lubang Buaya [Crocodile Pit] ⚡

78. Tugu Tani [The farmers' monument] ⚡

8. Konferensi Asia-Afrika [Asian-African Conference] 1955 ⚡

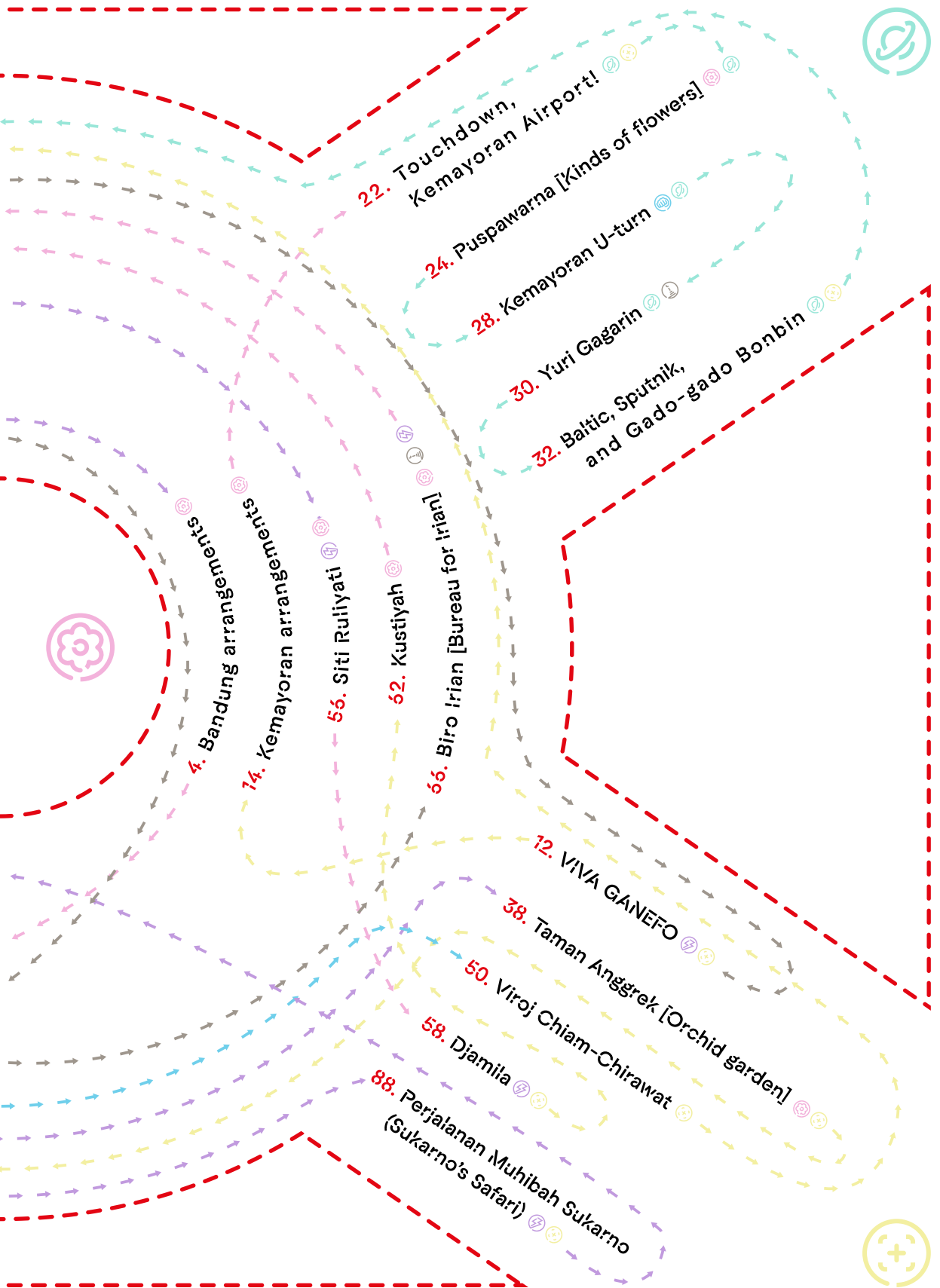
80. Nadiah Bamadhaj ⚡

94. Monumen Nasional [National Monument] ⚡

84. Tugu Pahlawan [Heroes' monument] ⚡

96. Josip Broz Tito's gifts ⚡





 Abuse

 Flower

 Monument

 Outer Space

 Power

 Traces

A roundabout: Blooming mementos, towards monument

The 1955 Asian-African Conference (Bandung Conference) is a deeply rooted myth, planted in fertile ground. Yet without critical thought and conscious effort, it risks becoming mere nostalgia—draped in the language of revolution, internationalism, and solidarity, those grand blockbuster keywords we all strive to achieve anyway. Proudly claimed and remembered as the first gathering of a third of the world's population, it remains striking that no official group photograph of all the delegates in the main conference hall has ever surfaced—as if an official evidence of their togetherness was never a necessity.

Amid countless candid photographs capturing delegates in moments of camaraderie, floral arrangements appear time and again, quietly bearing witness to the spectacle. One particularly curious image lingers: a pillar, crowned with an elaborate floral display, standing on a plinth that mimics the hall's architecture. Someone—or perhaps an entire department—must have carefully planned and placed these flowers. But who? Why? And for what purpose? As these questions haunt us, history keeps moving, unavoidably taking us along.

Suspicious of round tables, uneasy in roundabouts, wary of mainstream narratives and ideological gimmicks, this showcase offers a pause—a moment to slow down and reconsider our surroundings, through what remains, what has been exaggerated or erased, and what is yet to come. Like flowers dulled by passing traffic or statues standing silently, holding more knowledge than any passerby, we revisit histories that bloomed or were uprooted, cemented into place or violently erased. On this side of the planet, it was never cold to begin with...



ASIA AFRIKA BERSATU [ASIA AFRICA UNITE]

Lyrics & composition by Sudharnoto, circa 1955. Performed by Paduan Suara LEKRA (LEKRA Choir; Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat/People's Cultural Institute). Published in the album, *Pilihan Lagu-lagu yang Diperdengarkan oleh Rombongan Njanji dan Tari LEKRA Indonesia di Tiongkok* [Selection of songs performed by LEKRA Indonesia's Choir and Dance Group in China], a souvenir from the group's cultural diplomacy trip to Beijing in 1963. Digitized by Anton Lucas, now accessible in the special collection of Flinders University Library, Adelaide. Also available on Soundcloud. English translations by Hyphen—, Thai translation by Chanapol Janhom.



เคลื่อนไหพร้อมเพรียงกัน
ลุกขึ้นต้อนรับร่วมกัน
เอเซียและแอฟริกาได้รวมเป็นหนึ่ง
ธงของเราเร็วไว
ประดับด้วยดอกมะลิจากพระแม่ธรณี

จากทะเลทรายโกบี แม่น้ำคงคา
อิรวดี ซาฮารา
เสรีภาพ ไชโย!
สันติภาพ ยินยอม!
ต้อนรับ คำอวยพร
โฮปิน วันสุข
ต้อนรับด้วยบทเพลงแห่งความสุข
เฮ้ เสรีภาพ!
ยุคแห่งความสุขมาถึงแล้ว
รวมใจกันต่อสู้ เอเซีย-แอฟริกา
ดวงอาทิตย์ส่องแสงเจิดจ้า
นำพาความรัก สันติภาพ และเสรีภาพ!

Bergerak serentak
Bangkit sambut bersama
Asia-Afrika telah bersatu
Berkibarlah panji kita
Ditabur melati Ibu Pertiwi
Dari Gurun Gobi, Gangga,
Irawadi, Sahara
Merdeka, *Hurias!*
Berdamai, *Zindabad!*
Sambut, Salam,
Hopin, Wansui
Sambut nyanyi gembira
Hai, merdeka!
Alam bahagia kini telah tiba
Bersatu berjuang Afro-Asia
Matahari berjaya gemilang
Bawa cinta damai, merdeka!

Move in unison
Rise up together to
welcome
Asia and Africa have united
Our banner flies high
Jasmine scatters Mother
Earth
From the Gobi Desert,
Ganges, Irrawaddy, Sahara,
Freedom, *Hurias!*
Peace, *Zindabad!*
Welcome, Greetings,
Hopin, Wansui,
Welcome with joyful songs
Hey, freedom!
A blissful era has now
arrived
Unite and fight, Afro-Asia,
The sun shines gloriously,
Bring love, peace, and
freedom!





Bandung arrangements

Look at this striking floral arrangement, placed on a plinth at the very heart of the conference hall—a centerpiece for what is now remembered as the beginning of international solidarity for freedom, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and the recognition of an alternative world power (often referred to as the Third World, South-South, or Non-Aligned Movement). The 1955 Asian-African Conference (Bandung) was, quite literally, the largest gathering of people of color at the time. “A third of the world is here!” Sukarno declared.

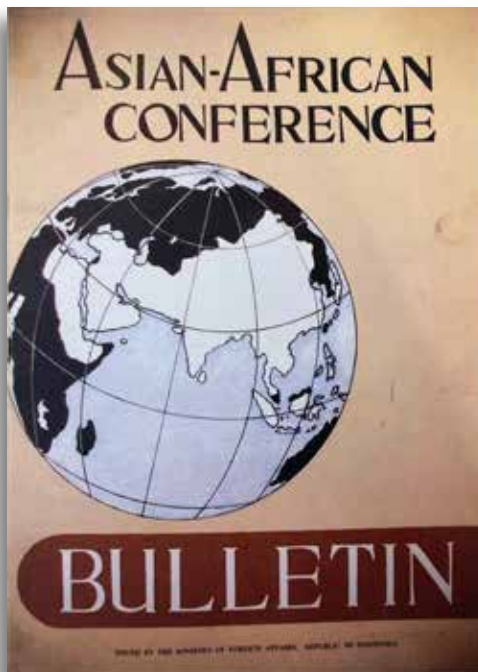


Flower arrangement installed at the center of the main conference hall of the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung

Miniaturized by Nasikin Ahmad

It is almost unthinkable that such a meticulously staged event had no official group photograph. But this was no accident. The absence of an official photo was a deliberate choice—shaping the conference's visual legacy as much as its speeches and resolutions. What remains are candid images of delegates in motion, deep in discussion, radiating fiery determination. Through photography, media, and ceremony, Bandung was mythologized as a moment of revolutionary diplomacy and the new internationalism.

Officially attended by delegates of 29 countries and countless observers, the conference was a carefully orchestrated spectacle. Flowers were everywhere—at arrival ceremonies, on coffee tables, dining tables, and even cigarette trays. A flower arrangement—central to an image of the main conference hall and to the room itself—appears only in one photograph from the second day. Why only then? Was it newly placed? What for? What can this fact be read as? As the *Economist* puts it, “Nevertheless the conference must not be like a flower show; it ought to create and not merely demonstrate.” (The *Economist* UK, 18 April 1955. Excerpted from “Press Extracts” in *Asian-African Conference Bulletin*, dated April 22, 1955.)



**Asian-African Conference Bulletin,
dated April 22, 1955**

Daily conference bulletin issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia. Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI.

“Nevertheless the conference must not be like a flower show; it ought to create and not merely demonstrate.”

– *The Economist*,
18 April 1955



Gala dinner for the Asian-African Conference at Savoy Homann Hotel, Bandung, 19 April 1955

Taken from unesco.org, courtesy of ANRI.



Participants at the Asian-African Conference, Bandung

Taken from Wikimedia Commons, courtesy of Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.



Zhou Enlai and Sukarno at dinner

Courtesy of Museum of the Asian-African Conference, Bandung.



A bicycle of flowers

Photo by Howard Sochurek, taken from Google Arts and Culture.



A view of the Asian-African Conference's main conference hall, Bandung, 20 April 1955
Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI.



Konferensi Asia-Afrika [Asian-African Conference] 1955



Opened to the public in 1977, the National History Museum narrates Indonesia's struggle for independence through dioramas—three-dimensional displays depicting key historical events. Spanning from prehistoric times to the post-independence period, these meticulously crafted scenes emphasize anti-colonial resistance, nationalist movements, and the formation of the republic.



Featuring 51 dioramas in chronological order, the museum presents a state-sanctioned version of history. Initially commissioned by Sukarno, these dioramas later became central to the New Order regime under Soeharto, reinforcing an official national narrative. As both a historical exhibition and a political artifact, the museum remains a key site for understanding how Indonesia's past has been framed, remembered, and at times, contested.

One such diorama depicts the 1955 Asian-African Conference—a landmark event that sought to foster solidarity, oppose colonialism and imperialism, and establish a collective presence on the global stage amid Cold War tensions. Promoting peaceful coexistence, economic cooperation, and self-determination, the conference marked the first large-scale international summit led by nations outside the Western and Soviet blocs, symbolizing the emergence of an alternative political force.

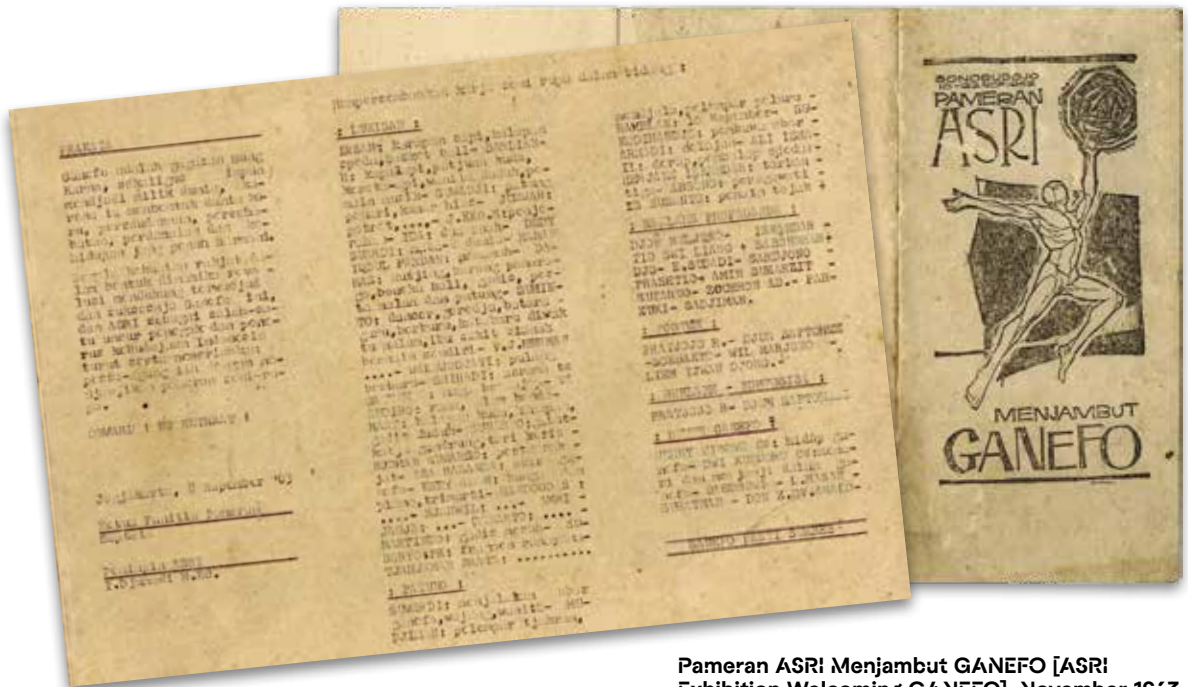
Art, politics, and society were once deeply intertwined, as evident in the *Pameran ASRI Menyambut GANEFO*, a 1963 exhibition by teachers and students of the now Indonesia Arts Institute—Yogyakarta, welcoming the Games of New Emerging Forces (GANEFO). This self-organized exhibition reflected the political enthusiasm of the time, which would be erased following the U.S.-backed mass killings of 1965–1966. Under the 32-year authoritarian New Order, artists and the public were systematically prohibited from expressing political and societal concerns.

Despite the Cold War implications in the changing world at the time, the 'Bandung spirit' endured in various forms of non-governmental institutions-led, community-oriented, and self-organized congregations around the world, such as Asian-African Students' Conference (first in Bandung, 1956), Asian-African Peoples' Solidarity Organization (first in Cairo, 1957), Afro-Asian Writers Conference (first in Tashkent, 1958), Asia-African Film Festival (first in Tashkent, 1960), African-Asian Writers Conference (first in Lagos, 1962), Pan-African Cultural Festival (first in Algiers, 1969), and many more.

By the seventies, the 'Asia-Africa' had become a kind of fever. A playful yet satirical form of such itch would be Remy Sylado's poem, *Kesetiakawanan Asia-Afrika* [Afro-Asian Solidarity], first published in *AKTUIL*—an influential countercultural music and lifestyle magazine (Issue no. 107, 1972). The batik in which this poem (along with its English and Thai translation) is embroidered on *batik* comes from Pekalongan, an old port city that is known as one of the pre-colonial cosmopolitan merchant towns in Java.



Diorama No. 42 "THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE, APRIL 18-24, 1955" at Museum Sejarah Nasional [National History Museum], in the basement of the Monumen Nasional (Monas), Jakarta
 Photo taken by Ary "Jimged" Sندی. Courtesy of Hyphen— and the artist.



Pameran ASRI Menjambut GANEFO [ASRI Exhibition Welcoming GANEFO], November 1963
 Brochure published on the occasion of an art exhibition of teachers and students of ASRI (now Indonesia Arts Institute - Yogyakarta) towards the upcoming Games of New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) in Jakarta. This exhibition was self-organized. Reproduced from and courtesy of Dicti Art Lab.



Kesenian Indonesia [Indonesian Art]
 Book published by the Ministry of Education and Culture, Republic of Indonesia, to accompany the art exhibition and various performances that were held in conjunction with the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung. Reproduced by Amir Sidharta and courtesy of Amir Sidharta and Museum Universitas Pelita Harapan.

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY
by Remy Sylado

Mei Hua 16 years old virgin,
Farouk 16 years old bachelor.
Mei Hua enters the bedroom at 12 AM,
Farouk enters the bedroom at 12 AM.
Mei Hua unbuttons her blouse,
Farouk unbuttons his shirt.
Mei Hua takes off her skirt,
Farouk unzips his pants.
Mei Hua takes off her bra,
Farouk takes off his singlet.
Mei Hua pulls off her underwear,
Farouk pulls off his underwear.
Mei Hua is stark naked,
Farouk is stark naked.
Mei Hua puts on her nightdress,
Farouk puts on his robe.
Mei Hua gets into bed,
Farouk gets into bed.
They then sleep.
Mei Hua is in Taipei,
Farouk is in Cairo.

—
First published in the magazine
AKTUIL No. 107, 1972.
Translated to English by Vera Mey.

ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างชาวแอฟริกัน-เอเชีย
โดย เรมี ซิลาโด

เหมยฮัว รัย 16 ปี บริสุทธิ์
ฟารูก รัย 16 ปี โสด
เหมยฮัวเข้าห้องนอนตอนเที่ยงคืน
ฟารูกเข้าห้องนอนตอนเที่ยงคืน
เหมยฮัวปลดกระดุมเสื้อของเธอ
ฟารูกปลดกระดุมเสื้อของเขา
เหมยฮัวถอดกระโปรงของเธอออก
ฟารูกปลดชิพกางเกงของเขา
เหมยฮัวถอดเสื้อชั้นในของเธอออก
ฟารูกถอดเสื้อกล้ามของเขาออก
เหมยฮัวถอดกางเกงชั้นในของเธอออก
ฟารูกถอดกางเกงชั้นในของเขาออก
เหมยฮัวเปลือยกายหมดจด
ฟารูกเปลือยกายหมดจด
เหมยฮัวสวมชุดนอนของเธอ
ฟารูกสวมเสื้อคลุมของเขา
เหมยฮัวนอนลงบนเตียง
ฟารูกลงนอนบนเตียง
แล้วพวกเขาก็นอนหลับ
เหมยฮัวอยู่ที่ไทเป
ฟารูกอยู่ที่ไคโร

KESETIAKAWANAN ASIA-AFRICA
oleh Remy Sylado

Mei Hwa perawan 16 tahun,
Farouk perjaka 16 tahun.
Mei Hwa masuk kamar jam 24.00,
Farouk masuk kamar jam 24.00.
Mei Hwa buka blouse,
Farouk buka hemd.
Mei Hwa buka rok,
Farouk buka celana.
Mei Hwa buka BH,
Farouk buka singlet.
Mei Hwa buka celana dalam,
Farouk buka celana dalam.
Mei Hwa telanjang bulat,
Farouk telanjang bulat.
Mei Hwa pakai daster,
Farouk pakai kamerjas.
Mei Hwa naik ranjang.
Farouk naik ranjang.
Lantas mereka tidurlah.
Mei Hwa di Taipeh,
Farouk di Kairo.

—
Pertama kali terbit di majalah *AKTUIL* No.
107, 1972.

—
ตีพิมพ์ครั้งแรกในนิตยสาร *AKTUIL* ฉบับที่ 107 ปี
2515 แปลเป็นภาษาไทยโดย รินรดา ณ เชียงใหม่



VIVA GANEFO



Lyrics (originally written in Spanish) & composition by Asmono Martodipoero, circa 1964. Performed by Paduan Suara Dialita (Dialita Choir) & Sisir Tanah. Published in the album *Dunia Milik Kita* [The World is Ours], courtesy of YesNoWave Music. Accessible at Youtube. English translations by Hyphen—, Thai translation by Chanapol Janhom.

Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, GANEFO 2x
Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO

Los países se despiertan
para los juegos
Las naciones que son
emergidas
Se empenan en destruir el
colonialismo
E imperialismo del mundo

Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, GANEFO 2x
Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO

Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, GANEFO 2x
Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO

Los países se despiertan
para los juegos
Las naciones que son
emergidas
Se empenan en destruir el
colonialismo
E imperialismo del mundo

Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, GANEFO 2x
Viva 3, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO

Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, GANEFO 2x
Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO

The countries awaken for
the games
The nations that have
emerged
Strive to destroy
colonialism
And imperialism in the
world

Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, GANEFO 2x
Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO

Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, GANEFO 2x
Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO

The countries awaken for
the games
The nations that have
emerged
Strive to destroy
colonialism
And imperialism in the
world

Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, GANEFO 2x
Viva 3, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO

Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, GANEFO 2x
Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO

ประเทศต่าง ๆ ตื่นขึ้นเพื่อการ
แข่งขัน
ประชาชาติที่เกิดขึ้นใหม่
มุ่งมั่นทำลายล้างลัทธิล่าอาณานิคม
และจักรวรรดินิยมในโลก

Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, GANEFO 2x
Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO

Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, GANEFO 2x
Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO

ประเทศต่าง ๆ ตื่นขึ้นเพื่อการ
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มุ่งมั่นทำลายล้างลัทธิล่าอาณานิคม
และจักรวรรดินิยมในโลก

Viva 3x, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, GANEFO 2x
Viva 3, GANEFO 2x
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO
Bravo 3x, viva GANEFO



Flower
arrangements permeate the
visual memory of the 1955 Asian-African
Conference—silent yet intentional, embellishing
arrivals, banquets, and ceremonial spaces. But who
decided on these floral compositions? Why was Nasser
greeted with a grand garland, while Zhou Enlai received a simple
bouquet? What blooms were placed on dinner tables at Savoy
Homann, or beside the delegates as they watched the aubade at
Lapangan Tegalega? '*Karangan [bunga]*' in Indonesian refers to all
forms of floral arrangements—garlands, bouquets, wreaths, and
standing displays. But '*karangan*' also means a fabrication, a
creation, something made up. Were these flowers mere
decoration, or part of a larger choreography—one
that constructed an atmosphere of diplomacy,
grace, and spectacle?

Amidst
the many layers of
mythologizing the Bandung
Conference, one fact stands out:
there is no official group photograph
of all the attending delegates. Hundreds,
if not thousands, of photographs exist,
capturing candid moments of handshakes,
conversations, and processions through
Bandung's streets. These images radiate a
sense of conviviality—a shared ease between
statesmen, a camaraderie shaped through
gestures, meals, and impromptu encounters.
Rather than a rigidly composed portrait
of unity, Bandung was presented as an
event in motion, its solidarity unfolding
through interaction, rather than
being staged as a singular,
frozen moment.

In one
photograph, a young girl walks
among world leaders, balancing a tray
filled not with ceremonial offerings, but with
cigarettes, lighters, and ashtrays. The photographer,
seemingly caught off guard, fumbles between documenting
the moment and reckoning with its absurdity. Was he surprised
by the presence of a child in this political theater? Or was it the
unexpected details—the tray's contents, the girl's practiced ease,
the way an unassuming figure becomes an agent within this grand
diplomatic performance? If the absence of an official photograph
suggests a refusal to reduce Bandung to a static image, then
every flower arrangement, every captured glance, every
unposed moment becomes a statement—of what
was meant to be seen, and what was left
open to interpretation.



Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, necklaced with a garland before leaving for his country at Kemayoran Airport on 31 December 1954. Nehru was attending the Bogor Conference, a five-country meeting in preparation for the Asian-African Conference. Also in appearance: Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali
 Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI.



A journalist interviewing Prime Minister of Thailand, Wan Waitayakon, upon his arrival at Husein Sastranegara Airport, Bandung, 17 April 1955
 Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI.



Indonesia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sunario and A.K. Gani, with President of the Philippines, Carlos P. Romulo, as he arrives at Kemayoran Airport. Also in appearance: Jakarta Mayor, Sudiro
Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI.



Prime Minister of Indonesia, Ali Sastroamidjojo, welcoming Sayed Ismail El Azhari (Chairman of the Sudan Delegation), Momolu Dukuly (Member of the Liberia Delegation), and Yilma Deressa (Member of the Ethiopia Delegation) upon their arrival at Kemayoran Airport, Jakarta, 16 April 1955
Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI.



Prime Minister of Indonesia, Ali Sastroamidjojo, talking with President of the Philippines, Carlos P. Romulo, in the transit room of Kemayoran Airport, Jakarta before leaving for Bandung
Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI.



Prime Minister of Indonesia, Ali Sastroamidjojo with Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala upon arrival at the airport to attend the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung
 Photo by Howard Sochurek, taken from Google Arts and Culture.



Nguyen van Thoai upon arrival at the airport to attend the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung
 Photo by Howard Sochurek, taken from Google Arts and Culture.



Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Prime Minister of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser, presented with flower bouquets on behalf of the President of India upon their arrival in New Delhi, India on 3 May 1955 after attending the Asian-African Conference in Bandung
Taken from Alamy.

Japan's Minister of State, Tatsunosuke Takasaki, arriving for the 1955 Asian-African Conference

Photo by Howard Sochurek, taken from Google Arts and Culture.



Ali Sastroamidjojo welcoming Zhou Enlai upon arrival to attend the 1955 Asian-African Conference

Taken from & courtesy of Museum of the Asian-African Conference, Bandung.



Cambodia's former king, Norodom Sihanouk, wearing a garland necklace
Photo by Howard Sochurek, taken from Google Arts and Culture.



Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand wearing a garland necklace
Photo by Howard Sochurek, taken from Google Arts and Culture.



Leader of the Libyan delegation, Mahmoud Muntasser receiving garland upon arrival at the airport to attend the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung
Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI.









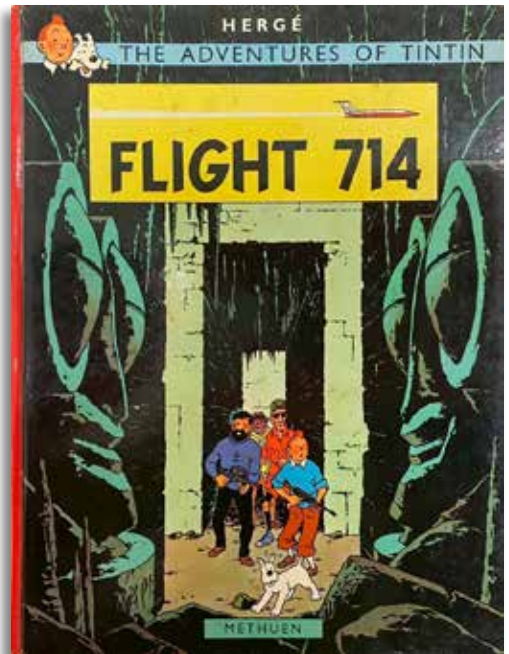
Touch down, Kemayoran Airport!



In Flight 714 to Sydney, Tintin, Captain Haddock, and Professor Calculus are en route to an International Astronautical Congress when an unexpected encounter at Jakarta's Kemayoran Airport sets the stage for an adventure of hijackings, mysterious islands, and telepathic aliens. Yet, real-world history at Kemayoran was no less dramatic.

In 1955, Kemayoran Airport was the grand entry point for delegates of the Asian-African Conference, where Sukarno's government welcomed guests with an abundance of flowers, reinforcing Indonesia's position as one of the leader for anti imperialist, anticolonialist and pro independent states. Years later, in 1961, Sukarno awarded Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin the Bintang Mahaputera Adiprana medal, celebrating his historic journey into space.

In a stark turn, the same runway that once greeted socialist allies would later see Soeharto, Indonesia's U.S.-backed military dictator president, welcoming Richard Nixon—the first U.S. president to visit Indonesia—congratulating him on Apollo 11. From socialist camaraderie to Cold War realignments, Kemayoran Airport became a stage for Indonesia's shifting allegiances.



The Adventures of Tintin: Flight 714

Written in French by Hergé, translated to English by Leslie Lonsdale-Cooper and Michael Turner, published by Methuen, London, 1968, reprint by Casterman, S.A., Tournai, 1973.
Courtesy of Hyphen—'s collection.



Much like history itself, Tintin is more than just an adventure series; it mirrors the 20th century's social and geopolitical upheavals, evolving from early propaganda (*Tintin in the Land of the Soviets*) into an exploration of colonialism, the Cold War, and global power struggles—all wrapped in a frame of humor.

FLIGHT 714





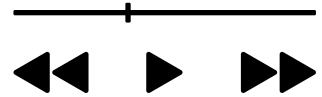
Puspawarna [Kinds of flowers]



Ketawang Puspawarna [Kinds of flowers] performed by the gamelan of Paku Alaman Court in Yogyakarta, directed by Ki Tjokrowasito (K.R.T. Wasitodiningrat), recorded by Robert E. Brown on 10 January 1971.

Excerpted from *Voyager Golden Record* (1977), 04' 46".

Full recording accessible at Soundcloud.



Puspawarna is one of the few words in Javanese language which translates to flowers, the title *Puspawarna* translates to 'Kinds of flowers.' This *ketawang* (short gamelan piece) is usually played to signal the arrival of a prince or to accompany dances. The lyrics talk about various types of flowers that symbolize various atmospheres, feelings, or nuances.

In 1977, NASA launched the Voyager 1 and Voyager 2 spacecrafts, each carrying a gold-plated copper disk known as the Voyager Golden Record. The record, selected by a team led by Carl Sagan, contains sounds and images which "intended to communicate a story of our world to extraterrestrials." Among its 90-minute "music of the Earth" selection is a Javanese gamelan piece, *ketawang Puspawarna*, recorded in the reception hall of the Paku Alaman Court in Yogyakarta.

This recording of gamelan performance made by Robert E. Brown was arguably a recording that made gamelan, an ensemble musical tradition played in Java and Bali, popular in the U.S. Brown's LP which included this recording titled *Javanese Court Gamelan* released by Nonesuch in 1971 was nominated for a Grammy award in 1972. Around the same time, the director of the gamelan ensemble in this recording, Ki Tjokrowasito, moved to California to teach gamelan in institutions such as the California Institute of the Arts, University of California, Berkeley, San Jose State University, and many other universities in USA and Canada. Scholarship of gamelan in that part of the world continues until today.

-> <https://soundcloud.com/the-film-effect/voyager-golden-record-music-from-earth>

TJOKROWASITO konser DI SATURNUS

Pesawat Voyager yang menjelajah ruang angkasa, diarahkan ke Saturnus untuk riset. Di samping juga, tentu saja, untuk semaksimal mungkin dapat menggaet perhatian *ET* (*extra-terrestrial*), makhluk angkasa luar, yang dianggap lebih cerdas dari kita.

Pesawat penyelidik NASA itu diluncurkan dari Cape Canaveral, Florida, Amerika, tidak saja menyinyalkan lambang-lambang tentang Bumi yang berwujud gambar lelaki dan perempuan. Namun atas saran Carl Sagan (astronom, pengarang *Cosmos*) yang masyhur, Voyager juga mengalunkan musik Johan Sebastian Bach.

Rupanya ini pun belum cukup. Sagan melengkapi-nya dengan *Ketawang Pus-*



powarno dari konser karya KRT Tjokro Wasitodipuro, 65, yang sudah mengajar 10 tahun lebih di Los Angeles, Kalifornia.

Baru-baru Pak Tjokro diundang ke pusat kegiatan NASA itu oleh Sagan

untuk bersama-sama mendengarkan hasil rekaman musik Bach dan gendingnya, sebelum pesawat diluncurkan. Ternyata gending klasik Jawa ini juga bisa memasuki "abad *space music*", ya Pak Tjokro.

Tjokrowasito konser di Saturnus [Tjokrowasito's concert in Saturn]

Article written by Danarto, one of the editorial members of the magazine.
Reproduced from *Zaman* weekly magazine, 22 September 1984, p. 63.
Scanned and archived from Hyphen—'s collection.







Speech Welcoming the Arrival of the Honorable President Richard M. Nixon at Kemayoran Airport on 27 July 1969
Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI.

On 27 July 1969, President Richard Nixon became the first U.S. head of state to visit Indonesia, marking a pivotal moment in Indonesia's shifting foreign relations under Soeharto's authoritarian regime. The militaristic president began his speech by congratulating the U.S. on the Apollo 11 moon landing just a week prior, framing it as a triumph not just for the U.S. but for all of humanity. Echoing Sukarno's praise of the Soviet Union's Yuri Gagarin after his first spaceflight in 1961, Soeharto emphasized that Indonesia, as part of the global community, shared in this achievement.

Piggybacking on Nixon's "friends of the free world" campaign slogan, Soeharto declared the U.S. as Indonesia's *sahabat* (best friend), expressing confidence in U.S. commitment to world peace and humanity's well-being. He acknowledged ongoing wars and security threats in Asia, stressing the need for international cooperation—yet conspicuously avoided mentioning the elephant in the room: The alleged communists' genocide that secured his own power and the U.S. complicity in it.

However, this was not Nixon's first visit to Indonesia. As a private citizen—albeit a former Vice President—he had met with Soeharto soon after the success of the 1965–1966 alleged communist genocide, reportedly discussing "stability and economic progress". In reality, Nixon's strong ties to U.S. business interests—particularly in oil and mining—played a crucial role in shaping the New Order's foreign investment policies. In other words, Indonesia's economic liberalization was deeply intertwined with U.S. support, ensuring that "progress" remained profitable for U.S. corporations.

Translation of President Soeharto's remarks released by The White House Press Office

Remarks on Arrival at Djakarta, Indonesia Online
by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project.





PIDATO MENJAMBUAT KEDATANGAN PJM
PRESIDEN RICHARD M. NIXON, DILAPANGAN
TERBANG KEMAJORAN PADA TGL. 27 DJULI 1969

Paduka Jang Mulia Presiden dan Njonja Nixon :

Pertama-tama, atas nama saja pribadi, atas nama Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan seluruh Rakjat Indonesia saya menjampaikan utjapan selamat datang jang hangat kepada Paduka Jang Mulia Presiden beserta segenap rombongan.

Saat ini dan hari-hari belakangan ini sungguh bersejarah bagi hubungan antara Amerika dan Indonesia, bagi bangsa Amerika sendiri dan bagi masa depan kemanusiaan.

Hari ini, adalah jang pertama kalinya Presiden Amerika Serikat mengundjungi Republik Indonesia; Meskipun bagi Paduka Jang Mulia Presiden kundjungan ini bukan jang pertama kalinya.

Beberapa hari jang lalu, antariksawan-antariksawan Amerika jang gagah berani adalah orang-orang pertama jang mengundjukkan kakinya dibulan; dan sekarang telah kembali lagi dengan selamat kebumi kita ini. Sekali lagi, atas nama saja pribadi dan Bangsa Indonesia, saya menjampaikan

utjapan



- 3 -

Sebagai bangsa jang merdeka, kami djuga s terima kasih dan meninggalkan kesan jang dalam, l teraan rakjat jang lebih meluas, djustru karena dewasa ini, bangsa-bangsa didunia kita ini terutama diwilayah Asia, masih terus merasa tjemas terhadap peperangan, antjaman peperangan dan bahaya terhadap perdamaian dunia. Kita semuanya, tanpa ketjuali, wadjib menjelamatkan ummat manusia.

Dewasa ini, kami sedang memulai melaksakan bangunan berentjana, sebagai kelanjutan daripada an kemerdekaan kami tadi. Kami sangat menghargai wa pada saat-saat jang sulit dalam memulai melaksakan pembangunan itu, Amerika Serikat sebagai salah s ra sahabat --sekali lagi-- telah menunjukkan peng dan memberikan bantuan jang sangat diperlukan oleh kita.

Paduka Jang Mulia Presiden :

Dalam kundjungan kali ini, mudah-mudahan jang Mulia akan dapat melihat dari dekat kesungguhan dan usaha Rakjat Indonesia dalam membangun n Saja djuga mengharapkan, agar pertemuan-pertemuan akan kita adakan nanti, merupakan kesempatan jang baik untuk bertukar pikiran mengenai berbagai masa

ichtiar



- 2 -

selamat jang tulus ichlas serta --sebagai warga-bangsa didunia-- ikut bangga dengan sukses-sukserika jang luar biasa itu. Saja yakin, bahwa seninja tudjuan Amerika Serikat dan djuga negara-negara lain jang mentjoba mengenal angkasa luar itu, meru- bagian usaha untuk mentjapai kebahagiaan jang lebih bagi ummat manusia dalam kehidupan dunia jang da-

Saja djuga yakin, bahwa kundjungan Paduka Jang Mulia ra ini --dan keberbagai negara jang lain, -- adalah djuk meratakan djalan kearah terwujudnja kesedjahteraan manusia dan diperkokohnja dasar-dasar bagi perdamaian itu.

Kami mengenal Amerika Serikat, bukan hanya sebagai jang terkaja didunia saat ini, bukan djuga karena ke- an tehnologinja jang luar biasa; melainkan pertama- ebagai bangsa jang lahir dan bertjita-tjita terwujud- samaan bagi semua ummat manusia.

Sebagai



- 4 -

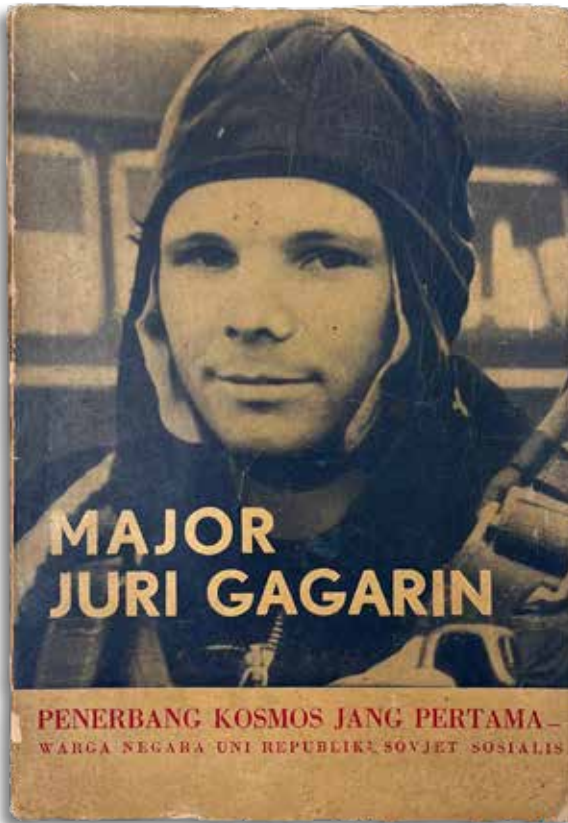
ichtiar menudju terwujudnja perdamaian dunia dan kesedjahteraan rakjat jang lebih meluas, djustru karena dewasa ini, bangsa-bangsa didunia kita ini terutama diwilayah Asia, masih terus merasa tjemas terhadap peperangan, antjaman peperangan dan bahaya terhadap perdamaian dunia. Kita semuanya, tanpa ketjuali, wadjib menjelamatkan ummat manusia.

Adalah harapan saja, dan saja yakin djuga tudjuan Paduka Jang Mulia, bahwa kundjungan jang penting ini merupakan lembaran baru jang akan memperdalam saling pengertian, mempererat persahabatan dan memperluas kerdjasana antara kedua negara kita.

Kami sambut Paduka Jang Mulia dan Njonja Nixon serta rombongan dengan hati terbuka dan segala keramah-tamahan; saja harapkan Paduka Jang Mulia akan merasa gembira selama berada ditengah-tengah Rakjat Indonesia dan Tanah Air kami.

Sekian dan terima kasih.

Djakarta, 27 Djuli 1969
PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA,
S. Soeharto
SOEHARTO
DJENDERAL TNI



Major Juri Gagarin: Penerbang kosmos jang pertama - Warga negara Uni Republik Republiik Sovjet Sosialis [Major Yuri Gagarin: First cosmos pilot - Citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic]

Published by P. D. N. Fadjar Bhakti
Ex PTN Permata Djakarta, 1961.
Collection of Hyphen—.

Earth's first artificial satellite launched by the Soviet Union in 1957, Sputnik, and the cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin were highly popular in Indonesia during the end of the 1950s and all throughout the 1960s. One of the most popular sweet soy sauce producing regions, Majalengka and Cirebon in West Java, even had a product branded as Sputnik. After successfully orbiting the Earth aboard the Vostok 1 capsule, Yuri Gagarin became a celebrity. Although he never visited Indonesia, his name frequently appeared in the mass media, which reported on his journey as the first human to travel into space.

During Sukarno's visit to the USSR in June 1961, he awarded Yuri Gagarin the Bintang Mahaputra Adipradana, Indonesia's second-highest state honor. In the same visit, Sukarno also gifted Gagarin a villa in Bogor, West Java. Gagarin was celebrated as a hero, and Indonesia felt a sense of shared pride in him. Indonesia and the USSR grew even closer, finding yet another connection. The warm and long diplomatic relations throughout the history of Indonesia and the USSR, later Russia, seem to continue being commemorated. Sixty years after Gagarin orbited the Earth, a statue of him was made in 2021.

The bronze statue by Alexey Dmitrievich Leonov, standing 282 cm tall and weighing 500 kg, was erected to commemorate the 70th anniversary of Indonesia-Russia diplomatic relations and the friendship between Jakarta and Moscow. The plaque was signed by Indonesia's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mahendra Siregar, Russian Ambassador to Indonesia Lyudmila Vorobieva, and Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan.

Nasional

EDISI KEDUA

Jogja: Djum'at 14 April 1961 No. 87 Th. XVI

Indra Tegera/Petambora Djong/D.L. Djakarta No. 46/2/5K-14p/1961 Tg. 29 Maret 1961.

Uni Sovjet berhasil luntjurkan Kapal Ruang Angkasa dg bawa manusia

Pengemudinya seorang major selamat kembali kebumi



Para awak pesawat Soyuz 4 dan Soyuz 3 yang telah berpisah di atas kapal angkasa. Dari kiri: Yuri Gagarin, Vladimir Komarov, dan Pavel Burevich.

YURI GAGARIN, MELAKUKAN PERJALANAN PERTAMA MANUSIA KE RUANG ANGKASA. (AP/WB).

rintah R. I. minta "DA II" dikirim ketanah air kembali

Harus ada penjelasan... (text partially obscured)

... (text partially obscured) ...

... (text partially obscured) ...

... (text partially obscured) ...

... (text partially obscured) ...

... (text partially obscured) ...

... (text partially obscured) ...

... (text partially obscured) ...

... (text partially obscured) ...



Ini adalah gambar Mayor penerbang Yuri Alekseyevich Gagarin astronot atau pendjelajah ruang angkasa pertama yang telah kembali kebumi. (AP/WB).

Perasaan Gagarin ketika hendak memasuki kosmos

Rasa tanggung jawab thd rakyat Uni Sovjet dan umat manusia

Beberapa menit sebelum terbang memasuki Kosmos, Yuri Gagarin tertetap tak dapat melakukan perasaannya, demikian siaran radio Moskow hari Minggu.

Dalam perjalanannya yang ditatat di atas ia hendak menembus ruang angkasa-luar dan dinikmati radio hari Minggu, major Gagarin berkata: "Ada lah sulit untuk mengatakn dengan persis apa yang saya rasakan sewaktu meninggalkan bumi. Hanya saja, tahu akan berada seadiri dengan Alam. Setidak2nya saja merasa bertanggung jawab terhadap rakyat Soviet dan umat manusia".

Tentu saja saja merasa senang meninggalkan bumi, kata Gagarin menambahkan, saja dihadiahkan penerbangan ini kepada masyarakat.

Demikian major Gagarin.

APARHA PETUGAS SENSUS MENGUNDUNGI SAU DARA, MINTALAH DIPERLIHATKAN SURAT PENG ANGKATANNA.

Nasional daily newspaper
14 April 1961 (No. 87 Th. XVI) &
20 April 1961 (No. 92 Th. XVI)
Reproduced from and courtesy of
Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia
(National Library of Indonesia).



Baltic, Sputnik, and
Gado-gado Bonbin



Kecap Cap Sputnik
[Sputnik-brand soy sauce]
Replica of the Sputnik soy
sauce bottle. Courtesy of
Hyphen—.





Kecap
Cap Sputnik
remains a mystery. A
few photos circulate online,
but little is known beyond its
production in Cirebon, West
Java, by Tan Sioe Lok. Whether
it is still made is unclear. What
is certain is that its name
recalls the Soviet Union's
Sputnik satellite, which
captivated the world in
1957 and resonated
in Indonesia.



Baltic Ice Cream - since 1939 - Kwitang, Senen

Illustration by chitarum. Courtesy of Hyphen— and the artist.

Established in times when ice cream was still a luxury and expensive treat, Baltic Ice Cream has remained one of the most popular ice creams in Jakarta to this day. Many things have changed over time, but if we look at old photos of the restaurant: a mural of two polar bears standing on either side of a sign that reads “Baltic.” This is not a mere ice cream shop—it’s an Ice Cream Palace!

G a d o - G a d o
Bonbin is one of Jakarta’s most renowned spots for gado-gado—a dish of rice cakes, vegetables, peanut sauce, and sweet soy sauce. Its distinction lies in its use of Vietnamese peanuts, giving the sauce a unique flavor. The restaurant takes its name from “Bonbin,” short for *kebon binatang* (zoo), as it once stood near Jakarta’s former zoo—since the 1970s it became the Jakarta Arts Center, Taman Ismail Marzuki.

Sputnik-brand
soy sauce, the *gado-gado* with particular peanuts from Vietnam, and the Baltic ice cream are more than just culinary staples; they reflect a cosmopolitan identity. They embody how people engage with cultures of the world—celebrating human achievements, enacting connections across borders, and making the world a part of their everyday lives.

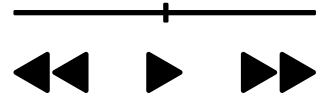


Gado-gado BONBIN - since 1960 - Cikini

Illustrations by chitarum. Courtesy of Hyphen— and the artist.



DUNIA MILIK KITA [THE WORLD IS OURS]



Lyric & composition by Sudharnoto, 1998. Performed by Paduan Suara Dialita (Dialita Choir) at Pekan Kebudayaan Nasional (National Culture Week) 2023, in Jakarta. Reproduced from and courtesy of the Directorate General of Culture, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia. English translations by Hyphen—, Thai translation by Chanapol Janhom.

Manusia lahir merdeka
Suci rohani, luhur jasmani
Kita milik dunia, satu
saudara

Walau berbeda ragam suku
bangsa
Saling cinta, kasih sayang
Dalam sesama, hak asas
insani

Tinggikan martabat akhlak
manusia
Dunia aman, damai abadi

Manusia lahir merdeka
Suci rohani, luhur jasmani
Kita milik dunia, satu
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Saling cinta, kasih sayang
Dalam sesama, hak asas
insani

Tinggikan martabat akhlak
manusia

Dunia aman, damai abadi

Dunia aman, damai abadi

Humans are born free,
Pure in spirit, noble in body
We belong to the world,
one family
Though diverse in tribes
and nations
Love and care for one
another,

Among fellow humans, the
basic rights of humanity.
Elevate the dignity of
human morals
For a world of safety and
eternal peace

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มนุษย์เกิดมาเสรี
บริสุทธิ์ทางจิตใจ สูงส่งทางร่างกาย
เราเป็นของโลก ครอบครวัเดียวกัน

แม้แตกต่างเผ่าพันธุ์และชาติพันธุ์

รักและห่วงใยซึ่งกันและกัน

ในหมู่มนุษย์ สิทธิพื้นฐานของ
มนุษยชาติ
ยกระดับศักดิ์ศรีของศีลธรรมมนุษย์

เพื่อโลกที่ปลอดภัยและสงบสุข
นิรันดร์

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นิรันดร์



In March 1974, Siti Hartinah (popularly known as Tien Soeharto) launched *Taman Anggrek "Indonesia Permai"* in Slipi, at the junction of Central and West Jakarta. The garden, dedicated to the cultivation and display of orchids, hosted an annual orchid expo from its inception. However, in 1993, as Jakarta's rapid urban development displaced green spaces, the garden was relocated to *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah*. The site of the former garden is now commemorated by *Mal Taman Anggrek*, a mall owned and operated by the Mulia Group, a company known for its close ties to Siti Hediati Hariyadi (popularly known as Titiek Soeharto), the daughter of the authoritarian President Soeharto and the ex-wife of Indonesia's current president, Prabowo Subianto.

Beyond being a garden, Taman Anggrek Indonesia Permai played a strategic role in orchid diplomacy, a practice popularized by Singapore in 1957, where hybrid orchids are named after celebrities or state leaders. In 1974, Tien Soeharto was honored with her own orchid, *Dendrobium Tien Soeharto*, a lemon-hued hybrid born from a cross of her choice between Singapore's *Dendrobium Noor Aisha* (named after Singapore's former first lady) and Indonesia's *Dendrobium Schulleri*, native to West Papua (then West Irian). Two years later, in 1976, a researcher at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) discovered a new orchid species endemic to North Sumatra and named it *Cymbidium Hartinahianum* after Tien's full name. More than botanical achievements, these orchids became political symbols—rooted in the Soeharto regime's ambitions and the authoritarian first lady's hand in shaping Indonesia's national identity.



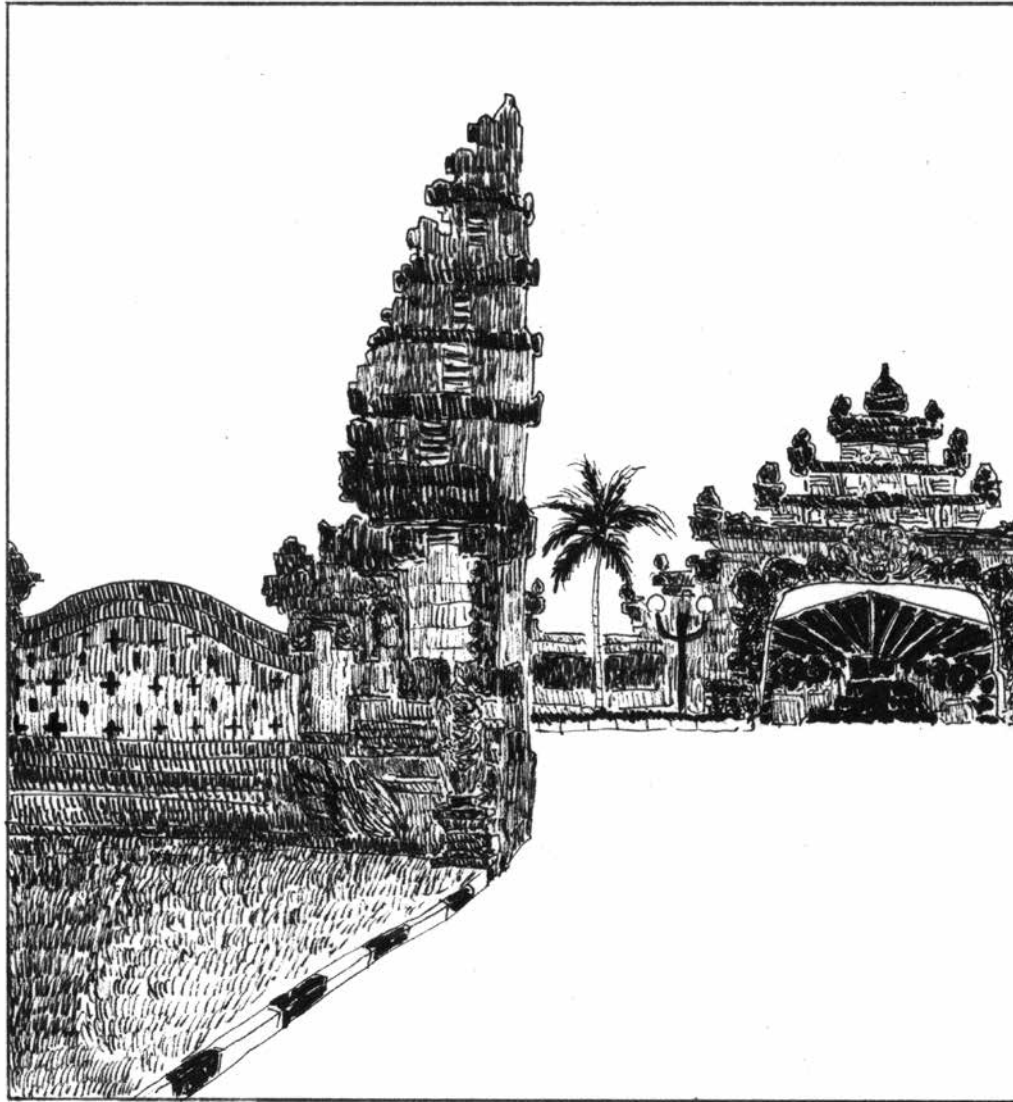
Tien Soeharto and her orchid

Illustrations by chitarum. Courtesy of Hyphen— and the artist.

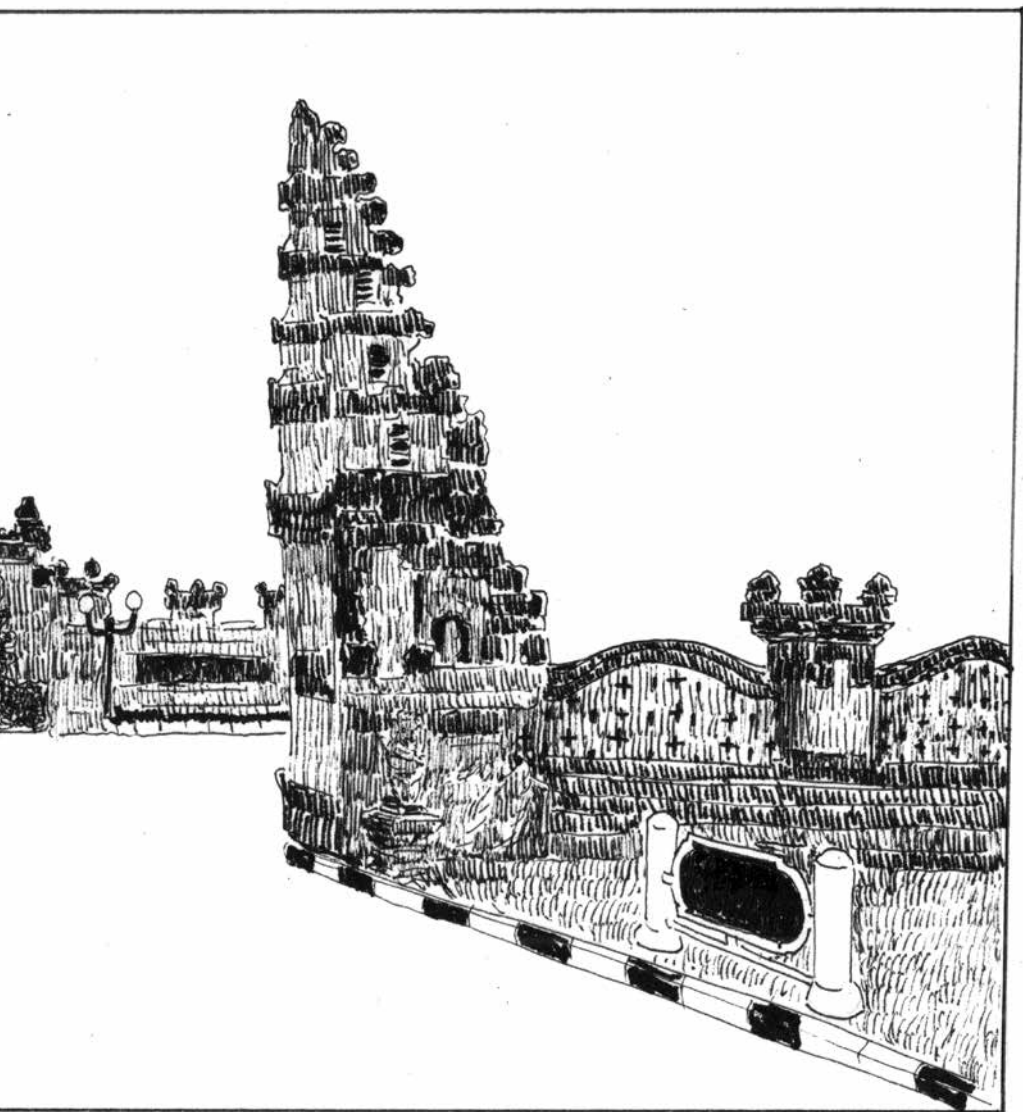


Mai Taman Anggrek [literally Orchid Garden Mai]
Illustrations by chitarum. Courtesy of Hyphen— and the artist.





**Taman Anggrek “Indonesia Permai” [“Gorgeous Indonesia” Orchid Garden]
in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah [Beautiful Indonesia Miniature Park]**
Illustrations by chitarum. Courtesy of Hyphen— and the artist.





Taman Mini Indonesia Indah [TMII, Beautiful Indonesia Miniature Park]



In March 19-22, 1966, a little more than a week after the 'informal' transfer of power from Sukarno to General Soeharto (March 11 Decree, or Supersemar), the latter flew to Thailand. Other than a friendly visit, there was nothing notable from that trip. Despite the rising death toll of the alleged communists in Indonesia by that time of the year, they went to the amusement park TIM Land (presumably the one in Nonthaburi).

It was Disneyland in the U.S. and Thailand's short-lived TIM Land that inspired Indonesia's authoritarian regime's first lady Tien Soeharto to establish her pet project Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (TMII, Beautiful Indonesia Miniature Park). Published in 1972, the booklet outlines the rationale behind TMII, a large-scale cultural park intended to encapsulate Indonesia's diverse regional cultures in the capital city, Jakarta. The park is framed as a patriotic endeavor to demonstrate diversity, emphasizing national unity, cultural preservation, and education through immersive experiences.

The presidential decree supporting the project, also included in the booklet, simply "blessed" (*merestui*) the initiative instead of formally launching or regulating it. Although TMII was officially presented as a private initiative under Tien Soeharto's foundation, its construction was largely funded by both national and provincial budgets, effectively forcing local governments to contribute. This financial burden diverted public funds away from essential services, reinforcing the New Order's top-down approach to development—where state resources were funneled into elite-driven projects with little regard for public welfare.

Decades later, the Soeharto family's control over businesses—including cultural and commercial spaces—remained intact, as highlighted by the magazine *TEMPO*'s 2008 investigation published just weeks after the passing of Soeharto. Its cover depicted Soeharto with his six children in a tableau reminiscent of 'The Last Supper'. This special edition tracked the business ventures of Soeharto's children including Mal Taman Anggrek—where Tien Soeharto's first Orchid Park was originally located before its relocation to TMII.

Special edition of TEMPO magazine
50/XXXVI/04 (10 February 2008)
"Setelah dia pergi" [After he's gone]
Courtesy of Hyphen—.



Pendjelasan tentang PROJEK MINIATUR
INDONESIA "INDONESIA INDAH"
[Explanation about the MINIATURE
OF INDONESIA PROJECT "BEAUTIFUL
INDONESIA"]
Reproduced from Hyphen—.



Non-Aligned Movement



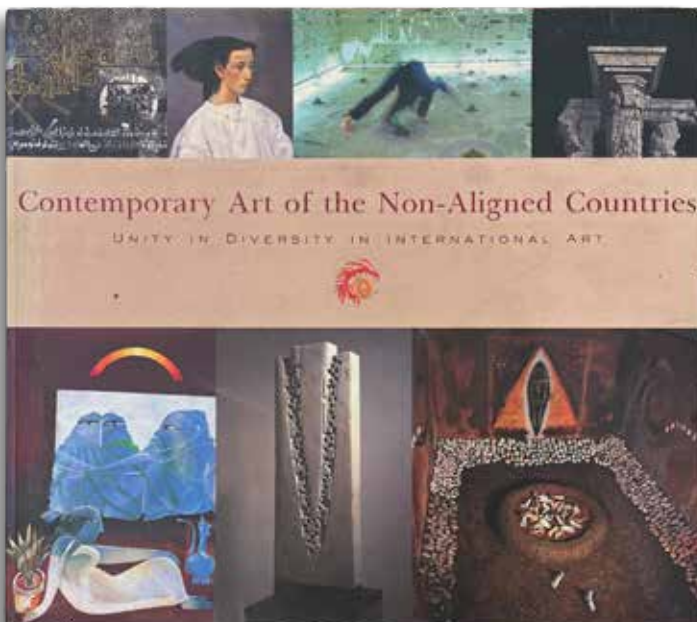
In 1992, Indonesia hosted the 10th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit in Jakarta, a moment of immense pride for President Soeharto and his U.S.-backed militaristic regime. This event was not just a diplomatic milestone but also a symbolic victory for Soeharto, who had long sought to step out of the shadow of his predecessor, Sukarno. While Sukarno had pioneered Indonesia's global leadership by hosting the historic Asian-African Conference (Bandung, 1955) and co-founding NAM with Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Soeharto saw the 1992 summit as proof that he, too, could lead on the world stage—without relying on Western backing or Northern funding. Ironically, the summit also marked the expulsion of Yugoslavia from NAM, a poignant reminder of the movement's shifting alliances and the New Order's pragmatic approach to diplomacy.

The summit's opening day, September 1, 1992, was marked by a highly symbolic gesture: Soeharto took the entire entourage of summit delegates and observers to Taman Mini Indonesia Indah to officiate the *Monumen Persahabatan Negara Non-Blok*. This monument was unveiled as if needing to reassure Indonesia's role in the movement. Not only that, immortalization of the regime's pride was also made in 'miniatures'. A diorama at the National History Museum was commissioned in 1998, the final year of the New Order's reign. The diorama depicted Soeharto delivering his opening speech, his image magnified not once but three times—on stage and on twin videotrons flanking the conference hall. This visual grandeur underscored the regime's desire to project power and legitimacy, even as its grip on power was slipping.

Within this atmosphere of legacy-making, Edi Sedyawati, as the Directorate General for Culture, conceived the *Contemporary Art from Non-Aligned Countries Exhibition* in 1995. Featuring over 400 artists from 42 countries, the exhibition was a bold and ambitious project. Edi used the experience to argue for a clear vision and mission for what would become the Galeri Nasional Indonesia (Galnas). Remarkably, her proposal was approved in May 1998, just days before Soeharto's resignation. In this sense, the 1992 NAM Summit, the 1995 exhibition, and the 1998 approval of Galnas are intertwined chapters in Indonesia's cultural and political history, reflecting the regime's final efforts to shape its legacy through art and diplomacy—not unlike Sukarno, whose love for the arts and cosmopolitan attitudes left an indelible mark on the nation.

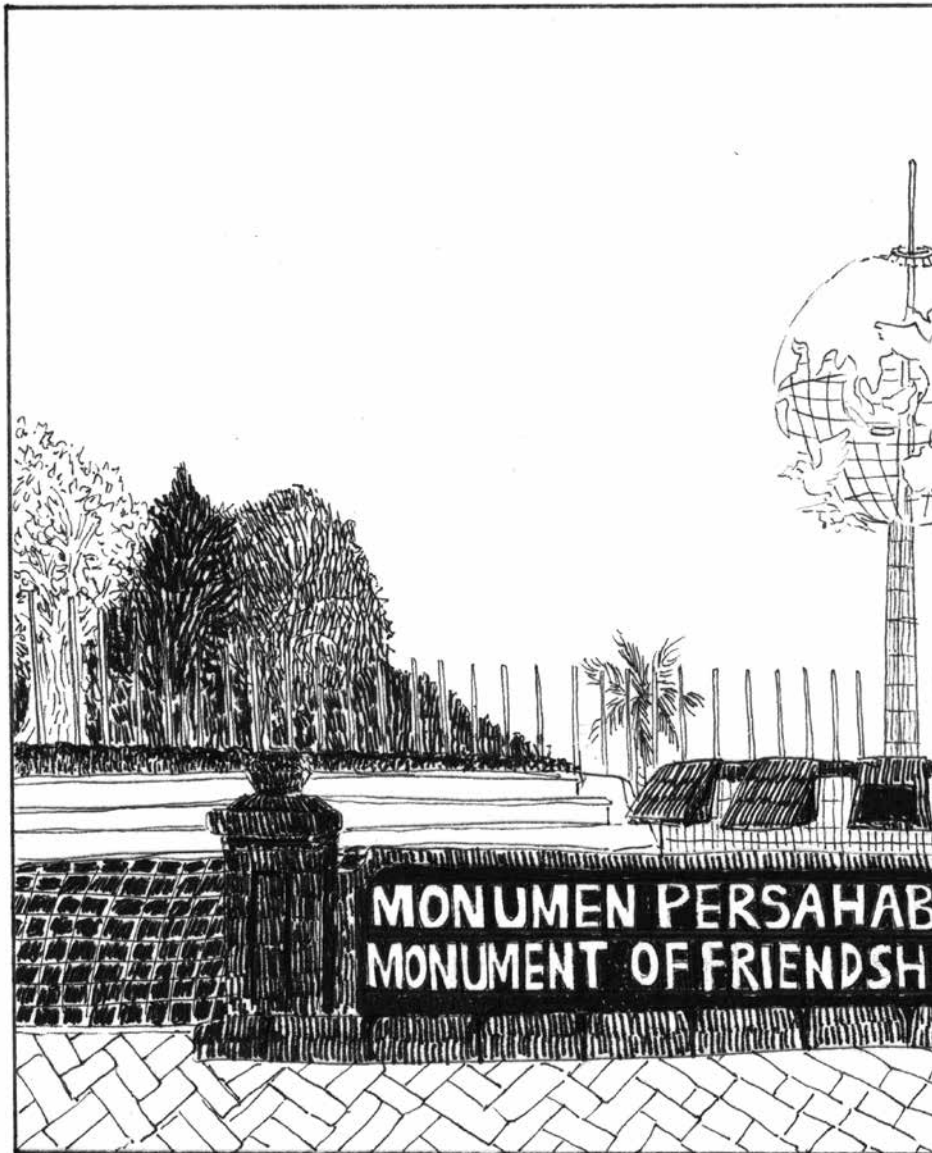


Diorama No. 50 “THE TENTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT, 1992” at Museum Sejarah Nasional [National History Museum], in the basement of the Monumen Nasional (Monas), Jakarta.
 Photo taken by Ary “Jimged” Sedy.
 Courtesy of Hyphen— and the artist.

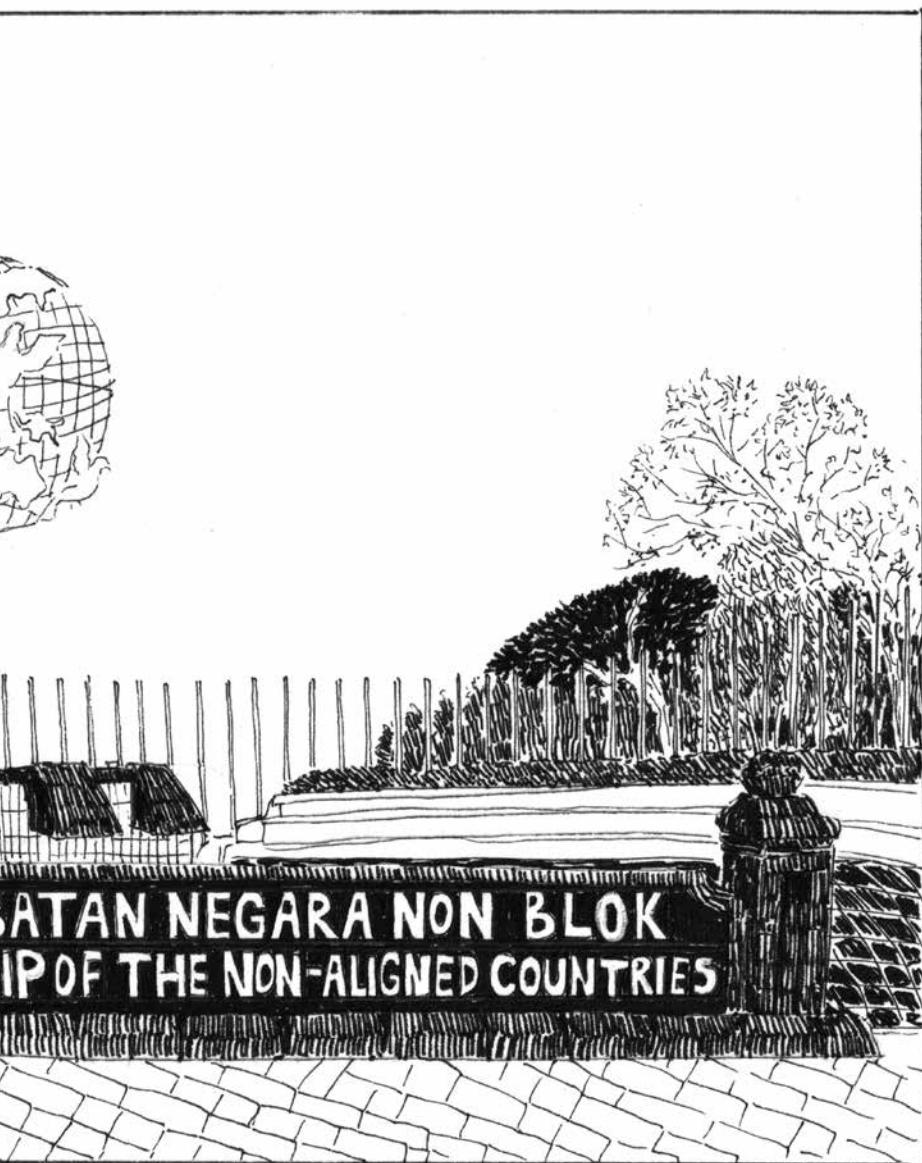


Contemporary Art from Non-Aligned Countries Exhibition, April 28-June 30, 1995

A post-event catalogue edited by A. D. Pirous, T. K. Sabapathy, Edi Sedyawati & Jim Supangkat. Jakarta: Ministry of Culture and Education, Republic of Indonesia, 1997, 332 pages. Courtesy of Galeri Nasional Indonesia.



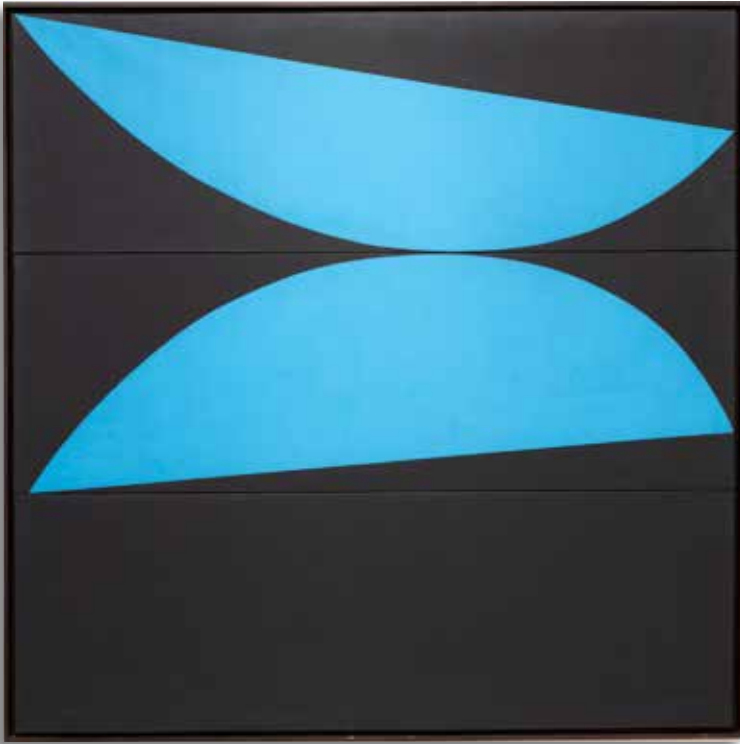
Monumen Persahabatan Negara Non Blok
[Monument of Friendship of the Non-Aligned Countries]
at Taman Mini Indonesia Indah [Beautiful Indonesia Miniature Park], Jakarta
Illustrations by chitarum. Courtesy of Hyphen— and the artist.



ATAN NEGARA NON BLOK
IP OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES



Viroj Chiamchirawat



Viroj Chiamchirawat
กรุงเทพฯ 1975 หมายเลข 1
[Bangkok 1975 No. 1]
1975
Acrylic on canvas, 180 x 180 cm
Collection of the Art Centre of
Silpakorn University



Viroj Chiamchirawat
บรรยากาศสีขาว หมายเลข 1
[White Atmosphere No. 1]
1980
Acrylic on canvas, 120 x 180 cm
Collection of the Art Centre of
Silpakorn University

By the late 1970s, Thailand's art scene underwent a significant shift as art marketing expanded amid ongoing political crises. While some artists participated in the "Art for Life" movement—creating socially charged works addressing rural poverty, political suppression, and social struggles—others moved away from overt political expression. At Silpakorn University, a group of artists distanced themselves from the democracy movement, embracing abstraction as an alternative artistic approach.

This era, in the mid sixties, was the shift towards pure abstraction emerged, emphasizing form, color, and line over representational content. Hard-edge painting, as practiced by Chiamchirawat, became a key mode of expression, focusing on the harmony and unity of visual elements. In this evolving artistic landscape, abstraction provided a space for experimentation, allowing artists to explore composition beyond political narratives.

Both of these works are landmarks in some ways. กรุงเทพฯ 1975 หมายเลข 1 (1975) exemplifies his mastery of hard-edge painting, characterized by sharp, defined edges and geometric precision. This work earned him the 2nd Prize, Silver Medal Award in Painting at the 23rd National Exhibition of Art in 1975. Likewise, บรรยากาศสีขาว หมายเลข 1 (1980) was awarded at the 26th National Art Exhibition in 1980. Beyond painting and teaching, Chiamchirawat also played a curatorial role, organizing Thai artists' participation in the Pameran Seni Rupa Kontemporer Negara-Negara Non-Blok (Contemporary Art from Non-Aligned Countries Exhibition, 1995). His own works, Love Mom and Dad and Roma 1972, were also exhibited.

VIROJ
CHIAMCHIRAWAT
(b. 1943, Bangkok) is renowned for his contributions to geometric abstraction. He studied painting at Silpakorn University in 1966 and at the Institute of Fine Arts in Rome, Italy, graduating in 1973. Since 1965, Chiamchirawat has actively exhibited his works. His works reflect the broader movement of artists from Thai during the mid-20th century who sought to explore new artistic languages amidst a backdrop of political and social change.







Biography: Basoeki Abdullah

A documentary film produced by Pustekkom Depdikbud (Center for Technology and Communication, Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia), 1991. Duration 48' 31". Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI. English subtitle by Hyphen—.

Basoeki Abdullah is celebrated for his ability to enhance and idealize his subjects. Trained in the European academic tradition, he mastered a style of romanticized realism, where he smoothed imperfections, softened features, and heightened elegance—a technique he himself called “beautification.” Indeed, his portraits of presidents, aristocrats, and cultural icons exude a regal aura, emphasizing dignity and refinement. Beyond mere likeness, Basoeki’s portraits projected an aspirational image of his subjects, reflecting both personal prestige and national grandeur. While some argue that his style sacrificed realism for flattery, his work remains a defining visual language of power and prestige.

Towards the end of his life, he strongly believed in art’s power as a weapon for peace. In the early 1990s, he initiated plans for an international exhibition themed World Peace Without Weapons and Culture as a Weapon of Unity. Several foreign ambassadors in Jakarta expressed their support for the event, as documented in a 1991 documentary. The exhibition was intended to take place a year after Indonesia hosted the Non-Aligned Movement Summit in 1992. However, it never materialized—perhaps because Basoeki was preoccupied with a commission from the New Order regime to paint portraits of the summit’s delegates. These portraits, now housed in the collection of Indonesia’s Ministry of Culture.

In response to the passing of King Bhumibol Adulyadej, in 2016, critic Agus Dermawan T. highlights his decades-long friendship with Basoeki. It frames their relationship as a testament to cultural diplomacy, showcasing Bhumibol’s appreciation for art and Basoeki’s privileged role in the Thai royal court. Beyond artistic collaboration, the piece hints at the political complexities of the time—Basoeki’s ties to Sukarno made his return to Indonesia under Soeharto uncertain, with Bhumibol even advising him to remain in Thailand. Through personal anecdotes, the article nostalgically underscores the warmth of Southeast Asian cultural exchange, positioning both figures as symbols of artistic and diplomatic connection between Indonesia and Thailand.

—
BASOEKI ABDULLAH (b. 1915, Surakarta - d. 1993, Jakarta) is renowned for his naturalist style. His career spanned from the colonial era, when he joined PUTERA (Pusat Tenaga Rakyat) and Keimin Bunka Shidoso. During the Revolution, he traveled across Europe and spent time in Tokyo and Thailand. He has served for the Queen of the Netherlands, the Kings of Malaysia and Brunei, and was the court painter for Thailand’s Popporo Kingdom (1960–1974). He returned to Jakarta in 1974 and was later appointed the official painter of the Presidential Palace.



Basoeki Abdullah
Not yet known (Adult)
 1972
 Oil on canvas
 79.5 x 65 cm
 Collection of DC Collection



Basoeki Abdullah
Not yet known (Child)
 Year not yet known
 Oil on canvas
 69.5 x 55 cm
 Collection of DC Collection



Art affairs between the king & painter
 Written by Agus Dermawan T. Retyped from *The Jakarta Post*, Wednesday, November 9, 2016.

-> <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/11/09/art-affairs-between-king-painter.html>



Siti Ruliyati



Siti Ruliyati

Untitled

ca. 1970s-1990s

A selection of 37 floral embroideries, variable sizes
Collection of the estate of Siti Ruliyati





Ruliyati had been painting since her time at the Akademi Seni Rupa (ASRI) Yogyakarta in 1950, from which she graduated in 1957. While still a student, in 1955, one of her paintings titled *Melihat orang kerja* or (*Watching people at work*, 1955) was featured in the exhibition held in conjunction with the 1955 Asian-African Conference. The school introduced her to the practice of sketching outdoors, which became the foundation of her lifelong art making. From the 1950s until the 1970s, her subject matter revolved around everyday lives and scenery in the old city of Yogyakarta; the hustle and bustle of a traditional market, women working in rice fields and glimpses of life in a small village.



She began painting flowers in the late 1970s, a period that marked a significant shift in her choice of subject matter, as she moved from Yogyakarta to the capital Jakarta. Ruliyati's floral embroideries on various types of used canvases are prototypes for cup or plate mats. These handmade embroideries, along with hand-painted postcards and greeting cards, and commissioned book cover illustrations, were her bread and butter. She was a proud artist who could support her own life, and her six children, through her art practice. Simultaneously, she offered painting classes aimed at women with diverse educational backgrounds such as lawyers, psychologists and engineers. From the 1980s into the 1990s, she organised annual group exhibitions with her students, entitled *Ekspresi Warna* [Colour Expression].

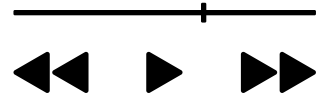
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SITI RULIYATI (b. 1930, Jombang – d. 2023, South Tangerang) was a pioneering ASRI Yogyakarta graduate who worked across pencil, watercolor, and oil. Her strokes are strong, tense, and rather stiff, yet her compositions exude femininity. Her allegiance to the people is evident in her paintings and drawings. Her works appeared in magazines such as *Budaya Jaya*, *Indonesia*, and *Zenith*. Her painting courses were known to be popular and throughout her life, Ruliyati sustained herself through art.



DJAMILA



Lyric & composition by Sudharnoto, circa 1963. Performed by Paduan Suara LEKRA (LEKRA Choir; Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat/People's Cultural Institute). Published in the album *Pilihan Lagu-lagu yang Diperdengarkan oleh Rombongan Njanji dan Tari LEKRA Indonesia di Tiongkok* (*A Selection of Songs that Were Performed by LEKRA Indonesia's Dance and Choir in China*), that was a souvenir from their cultural diplomacy trip to Beijing, 1963. Digitized by Anton Lucas, now accessible in the special collection of Flinders University Library, Adelaide. English translations by Hyphen—, Thai translation by Chanapol Janhom.

Djamila, Djamila, Djamila!
Kau pahlawan darah Aljazair merdeka
Dera dan siksa kau derita
Dalam rantai belenggu penjajahan angkara

Hancur pun bela badan raga
Berlinang air mata
Namun tekadmu tetap nyala
Berkobar, mengobar di dada

Djamila, Djamila, Srikandi!
Darahmu yang suci, sumbangsih dalam bakti
Menjadi teladan nan tinggi
Aljazair merdeka, rahmat sakti Ilahi!

Djamila, Djamila, Djamila!
You are a blood hero of independent Algeria
Beatings and tortures you had suffered
Shackled by the binding chains of colonial greediness

Even body to break, you're willing
And tears flowing from the eyes
But your determination stays lit
Burning, burning in the chest

Djamila, Djamila, heroine!
Your sacred blood is a devoted contribution
Becoming the highest example
Independent Algeria, sacred divine blessings

ดจามีลา ดจามีลา ดจามีลา!
เจ้าคือวีรสตรีแห่งเลือดอันกล้าหาญของแอลจีเรียเสรี
เจ้าถูกเขียนดีและทรمانอย่างแสนสาหัส
ถูกพันธนาการด้วยโซ่ตรวนแห่งความโลภของเจ้าอาณานิคม

แม้ร่างกายจะแตกสลาย เจ้าก็ยังยืนหยัด
แม้หน้าตาจะไหลอาบแก้ม
แต่จิตใจของเจ้ายังคงลุกโชติช่วง
เผาไหม้ เผาผลาญอยู่ในหัวใจ

ดจามีลา ดจามีลา วีรสตรี!
เลือดอันศักดิ์สิทธิ์ของเจ้า คือเครื่องสังเวย
แห่งการอธิศตน กลายเป็นแบบ
อย่างอันสูงส่ง แอลจีเรียเสรี พรอันศักดิ์สิทธิ์จากสวรรค์!







Kustiyah



Kustiyah
(Red frangipani)

1966

Oil on canvas, 27 x 45 cm

Collection of Griya Seni

Hj. Kustiyah Edhi Sunarso

Among Kustiyah's flower paintings, this one leans toward expressionism. Light and shadow accentuate the flowers and leaves, adding depth, while darker tones ground the composition. Thick impasto brushstrokes create a sculptural effect, especially in the flowers and stems. Frangipanis bloom in white, yellow, and red, blending all three to suggest that despite diversity, unity can still be achieved. Like many of her peers, Kustiyah favored earthy colors, as seen in the dominance of deep greens and warm browns. Curiously, she incorporated vibrant reds, a color she would continue to use until the late 1970s before shifting to calligraphic paintings for about a decade.

Red carries ancient significance, used in the Stone Age to ward off spirits in burial practices. In Kustiyah's earthy palette, the use of vibrant red invites reflection. Though not overtly political, one might question whether this red held deeper meaning, especially in 1966, the second year of Indonesia's alleged-communist genocide. Could her red be a subtle expression of fear or a response to the disappearance of her friends, many associated with socialist or communist ideologies? As an expression of grave fear?

While Sudjojono's white frangipani painting from the mid-50s was used on the cover of *Kesenian Indonesia* for the 1955 Asian-African Conference exhibition, Kustiyah's red frangipani from a decade later remains largely unknown. Unlike Ruliyati, Kustiyah was not part of the conference's exhibition. By the 1960s, the two became peers and held various group exhibitions together. Kustiyah also collected several of Ruliyati's works, spanning from the 1950s to 2000s.

—
KUSTIYAH (b. 1935, Probolinggo – d. 2012, Yogyakarta) was known as a gentle personality in contrast to her paintings. Her works were filled with sharp lines and rough sweeps of colour. Through her specific artistic approach, she painted what was around her, changing the familiar and natural scenery around her into a vibrant visual statement. Kustiyah started her artistic journey at ASRI Yogyakarta and then continued with the *Pelukis Rakyat* (Peoples' Artists) and *Pelukis Indonesia* (Indonesian Painters).



**Monumen Nasional
[National Monument]**

**Edhi Sunarso and Kustiyah on the
staircase of Monumen Nasional
(National Monument, or Monas),
Jakarta, circa 1963-1966.**

Scanned and archived by Hyphen—
from the collection of Griya Seni
Hj. Kustiyah Edhi Sunarso. Also
accessible in Indonesian Visual Art
Archive (IVAA). Courtesy of Griya
Seni Hj. Kustiyah Edhi Sunarso and
Hyphen—.

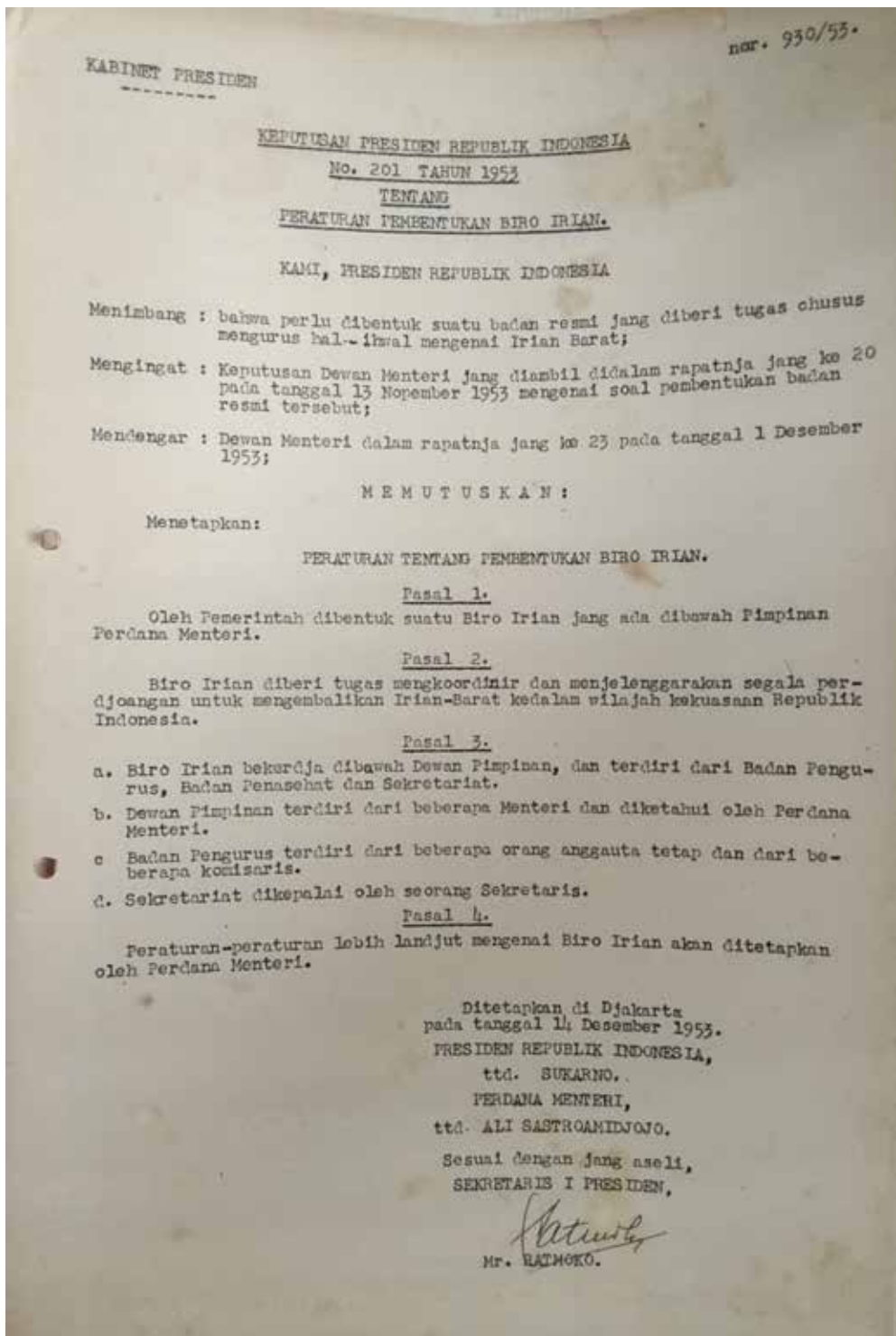


The official Jakarta tourism board slogan, "Enjoy Jakarta" has Monas as part of its logo. Indeed, this monument perhaps reminds people more of Jakarta rather than the archipelago this city is capital of. Monas structure is an obelisk with a chalice-shaped base. The way it is designed, to enter the building structure, whichever gate we pass through, we must go around the Monas chalice before being directed to the ticket box located in the underground basement. This city landmark is a roundabout by itself, with an exit heading towards a place called the National History Museum.

Inside the National History Museum are dioramas depicting scenes narrating history of the Indonesian nation. Edhi Sunarso was the person in charge for the making of those dioramas whereas Kustiyah, his wife and a painter herself, was there to join in the work by painting figurines for the scenes. Edhi's appointment to be the person in charge came around the time he finished making the Liberation of West Irian monument, located less than a kilometer away from Monas. Edhi was appointed by Sukarno himself, and the job was to make 44 diorama scenes starting from prehistoric time and ending with the 'return of West Irian' as already narrated by a team of historians who were asked to make a guidebook for the diorama scenes.

There are many things to be suspicious of in regards to Indonesia's 'liberation' of West Irian and the gold deposit which piqued the world's interest towards this 'fight.' In this photo, the Monas' summit, a fire shaped structure covered in gold, hasn't been installed. Even without the gold summit, Kustiyah and Edhi stood tall in front of an even taller Monas, a picturesque scene fit for a brochure that calls for wandering minds to think, "What a rich nation as shown by its majestic monument!"

By the time Monas' gold summit was installed and the museum opened to the public in 1977, Soeharto had become the new commissioner for the National Monument project. Edhi was still appointed as person in charge, even until the making of the additional 4 diorama domes in 1998 which made an island in the middle of the National History Museum room and turned the place into yet another roundabout.



(S.177/54)

Kabinettschreiben :

- 67





Edhi Sunarso

**Model for Monumen
Pembebasan Irian Barat
[Liberation of West Irian
Monument]**

1963

Bronze, 50 x 30 x 10 cm

Collection of Griya Seni

Hj. Kustiyah Edhi Sunarso.

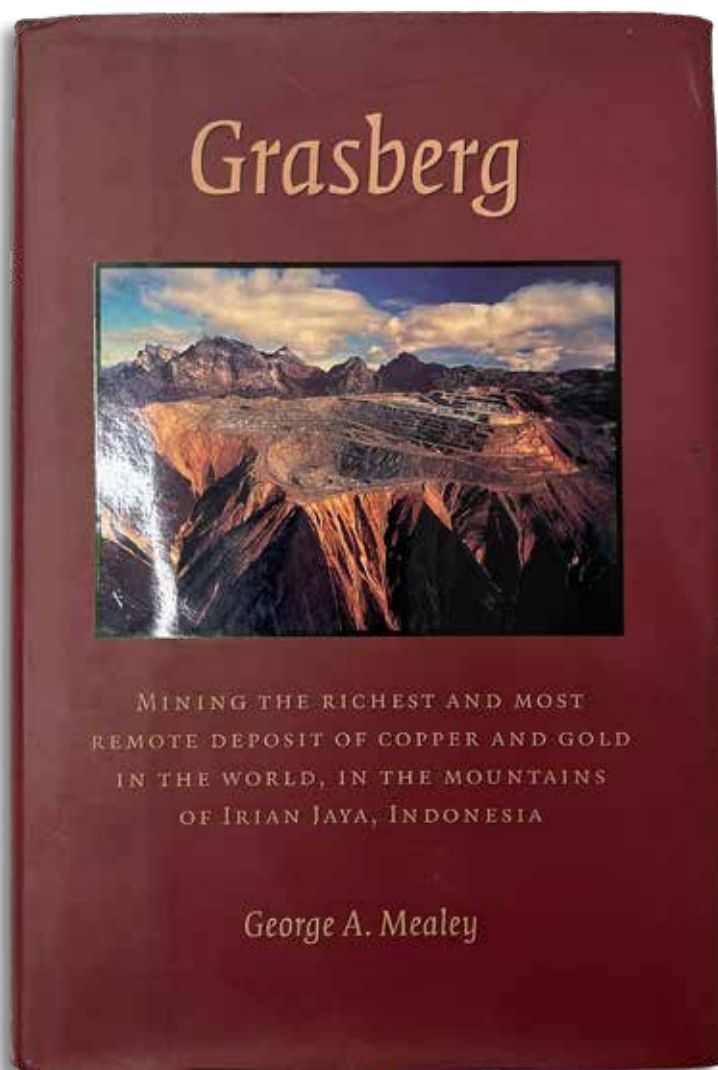


The New York Agreement

Reproduced from and
courtesy of United Nations
Treaty Series Online, Volume
437, 1963, pp. 273-313.



-> <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unt/ volume%20437/ volume-437-i-5311-english.pdf>



Grasberg: Mining the richest and most remote deposit of copper and gold in the world, in the mountain of Irian Jaya, Indonesia

Written by George A. Mealey, published by Freeport-McMoran Copper and Gold, Inc., New Orleans, 1996, 384 pages. Courtesy of Hyphen—.



Copy of Contract of Work Freeport – US Gold mining company in Papua
Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI, Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia.

The presence of gold potential in Papua (then known as West Irian) had been known since 1936 when a geologist named Jean Jacques Dozy climbed Carstensz Peak and came across the ore mountain (Ertsberg) there. Forbes K. Wilson, Freeport Sulphur's exploration manager, later followed up on Dozy's records in 1959. Yet, no further progress was made, as Papua was being contested between Indonesia and the Netherlands until it became part of Indonesia in 1963. And during Sukarno's rule, they were unable to gain access to start their exploitation plan.

The dispute over Papua at that time was, either indirectly or covertly, closely related to the presence of this gold. The interests of Indonesia, the Netherlands, and the United States are an intertwining of geopolitical interests and economic ambition. Indonesia's anti-imperialist stance during Sukarno's era—he sought to expel the Dutch from Irian and supported self-determination based on the New York Agreement—ironically transformed into a new form of capitalism-driven colonialism.

In 1966, when General Soeharto seized power from President Sukarno, the exploitation of Ertsberg in Papua began. A key policy was the enactment of Undang-Undang Penanaman Modal Asing (the Foreign Investment Law) on January 10, 1967, allowing foreign investment in mining and other industries. Just three months later, on April 7, 1967, the Indonesian government signed its first contract—that lasted for half a century—under this law with the U.S. mining company Freeport. Soon after, Freeport began its drilling program in Ertsberg.









Lubang Buaya [Crocodile Pit]



The entire site is officially called 'Pancasila Sakti' [The Sacred Pancasila], be it its complex, the monument, and one of the museums. It is located in a ward called Lubang Buaya (literally: Crocodile Pit). Despite its grandiose official name, practically no one uses it. People simply refer to the place as 'Lubang Buaya'. Colloquially, when referring to the complex, the museum seems to be slightly more popular, as people often say 'Museum Lubang Buaya'.

The complex was built by the militaristic President Soeharto as part of the regime's broader campaign against communism. This campaign also included the production of a 4-hour, 31-minute film titled *Penumpasan Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* (The Eradication of the Treachery of the 30 September Movement/Indonesian Communist Party). From its release in 1984 until the fall of the dictatorship in 1998, the film was mandatory viewing for all Indonesian citizens every September 30th.

The complex, the monument, and the film were all conceptualized by Nugroho Notosusanto, an army historian tasked by the New Order regime with rewriting Indonesia's national history—hence its distinctly militaristic flavor. Although Notosusanto was not an obvious U.S.-darling like A.H. Nasution or Sarwo Edhie Wibowo, his narratives consistently aligned with the U.S. anxieties: That 'red' (communism) was the color of devils and demons, synonymous with betrayal, and deserving of eradication at all costs.

Much like the Heroes Monument, which people call the 'Farmers Monument' or 'Mr. Farmer Statue', one might see the colloquial naming of 'Lubang Buaya' as a form of resistance—a way for people to reject the militaristic rewriting of the national history. Despite the regime's efforts to enforce a new national narrative, the people—the nation—found ways to safeguard their own histories.



**Museum Pengkhianatan
Komunis (PKI)
[The (Communist Party of
Indonesia) Communists'
Betrayal Museum]**

Booklet. Published by Pusat Sejarah dan Tradisi, Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia (Center of History and Tradition, Indonesian Armed Forces), 1992, 36 pages.



**Museum dan Monumen
Pancasila Sakti
[The Sacred Pancasila
Museum and Monument]**

Written by M. Fahlevi, SH. MM., published as part of Seri Sejarah [History Series] by Grasena Seni, Jakarta, 2004, 100 pages.

Both reproductions; scanned and archived by Hyphen— from the collection of Griya Seni Hj. Kustiyah Edhi Sunarso. Courtesy of both.



Tugu Tani [The farmers' monument]



The
"Mr.
Farmer"
statue has
become the center
of a heated debate,
underscoring the politicization
of art, the erasure of historical
nuance, and the enduring influence of
Cold War's communist-paranoia in Indonesia.

The fact that it was made by eminent social-realism Soviet sculptors and that it depicts a farmer carrying a rifle led it to be accused as a 'Communist Farmer'. Former military commander Sarwo Edhie Wibowo rashed, "Our farmers definitely don't look that arrogant! No way! Indonesian farmers are polite". Wibowo, who was in charge of the bloody U.S.-backed anti-communist purges (1965-1966), called for its removal. Jakarta Governor Suprpto questions the necessity of raising such an issue 17 years later, and warned, "If the statue is removed, the public perception will be worse." Eminent sculptor Gregoris Sidharta opposed its removal, calling it, "One of the best [public monuments] in Jakarta," and criticized the debate as driven by a few individuals, noting that the public sees it simply as one of the city's beauties.

Vice President Adam Malik affirmed, "The statue is neither a gift nor a product of Soviet ideologies. It was Sukarno's. He even sketched it himself." As Indonesia's ambassador to the Soviet Union at the time of its commission, Malik emphasized its historical significance: It was made to commemorate the West Irian liberation struggle and had no connection to communism. The statue is a manifestation of Sukarno's anti-colonial vision articulated through the people's struggle. However, its perceived ties to communism could potentially overshadow its historical significance.

**After 17 years, a
debate on a statue**
Retyped from TEMPO
magazine 33/12,
October 1982.
Also accessible in
datatempo.co.







Nadiah Bamadhaj





Nadiah Bamadhaj

Sunda! Bolong mengamankan patung wanita Tugu Tani
[Sunda! Bolong 'arrests' the female form of Tugu Tani]
2022

Digital print on acrylic board, charcoal on paper collage,
aluminium and plywood mount, 206 × 131 × 10 cm
Courtesy of the artist.

Sundal Bolong, the ghost in this room, initially achieved agency as a prostitute. In the lore, she seeks revenge on those who wronged her and instills fear in those who seek to harm her and other women. It is said that she does this by luring her victims with her beauty, only to reveal, at the right moment, the gaping hole in her back—a horrifying sight meant to strike terror. Sure, this story can be read as a cautionary tale about not trusting in physical appearance and holding more onto beauty that lies within. However, in this work, the hole in Sundal Bolong's back does not feel as frightening or as striking as the batik with penis motifs that she wears. Confident in her grace and the agency she has, this Sundal Bolong invites us to navigate the space not with vengeance but in solidarity with symbols constructed by—or often understood through—doctrines of patriarchy.

Sundal Bolong here *mengamankan* (secures) the female figure of a monument. In the original monument, she is standing below a gun-wielding male figure, holding up a plate of what is presumably nourishment for him. Sundal Bolong arrests the female figure from her position as representation of the state's notion of public order in the monument. Perhaps here, Sundal Bolong can also accompany us as we go around this room—steering us away from descending too deeply into paranoia, as reflected in the renaming of the sculpture-monument, or into the abyss of power often wielded as a tool of abuse.

This work by Nadiah Bamadhaj is part of a series of three drawings depicting ghosts—Wewe Gombel, Kuyang, and Sundal Bolong—'arresting' the female figure of the Tugu Tani (Farmers Monument). Here, in this work, the monument is addressed in its colloquial name rather than its official title when Sukarno commissioned it from the Soviet father and son sculptors: *Heroes Monument*.

NADIAH BAMADHAJ (b. 1968, Petaling Jaya) makes collaged drawings, sculptures, site-specific installations, digital videos and print works. Trained as a sculptor in New Zealand, she now lives and works in Yogyakarta. She has lectured on fine arts in Kuala Lumpur and written publications on human rights in Malaysia and Indonesia. Her practice currently focuses on the social intricacies of life within Indonesian society. Nadiah has received grants from the Nippon Foundation (2024), Indonesian Directorate General of Culture (2021), and Arts Council of New Zealand (2022).





Tugu Pahlawan [Heroes' monument]

Sukarno begins by highlighting the significance of the *Patung Pahlawan* (Heroes' Sculpture) in Jakarta, which symbolizes the struggle of the Indonesian people for independence, justice, and prosperity. Unlike monuments in other countries that often depict generals or political leaders, this monument represents the common people—ordinary men and women, farmers, and workers. He emphasizes that the Indonesian revolution is a people's revolution, and its success depends on the collective effort of the masses, not just the leadership. This monument, therefore, stands as a tribute to the struggle of the common people who fought for Indonesia's freedom and continue to fight for a just and prosperous society.

Commissioned to a renowned Soviet sculptors, father-and-son, Matvey and Otto Manizer. As if unaware of the Cold War, Indonesia's non-alignment moves tend to lean towards the Soviet bloc due to its anti-imperialist and anti-colonial stance. In this speech, Sukarno openly praises the Soviet bloc for its consistent support of Indonesia's struggle against imperialism and colonialism. He contrasts this with the Western nations, which he accuses of obstructing Indonesia's progress and attempting to divide the country.

Sukarno also highlights Indonesia's broader geopolitical strategy of uniting the New Emerging Forces (NEFO)—a coalition of newly independent nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—against the Old Established Forces of imperialism and colonialism. The Soviet Union and other anti-imperialist forces, for Sukarno, are in line with Indonesia's broader revolutionary goals: A universal revolution aimed at ending exploitation and creating a new world order based on justice and equality.

**SPEECH BY YOUR MAJESTY PRESIDENT SUKARNO FOR THE
OFFICIATION OF "PATUNG PAHLAWAN" (HEROES SCULPTURE) AT
THE MENTENG JUNCTION, JUNE 24, 1964**
Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI.



Indonesia didalam perjuangan menegakkan Malaysia ini mempunyai kawan puluhan, ratusan, ribuan, jutaan rakyat didunia ini. Maka oleh karena itu kami yakin, satu hari pasti akan datang jang Malaysia ini akan hantur lebur sama sekali.

Konperensi di Tokyo dinamakan gagal, gagal didalam anggapan orang lain, tidak gagal didalam anggapan kami. Sebab sesudah konperensi di Tokyo ini saudara-saudara, sebagai sudah kita umumkan,

sekarang
frontali
segala a
ward, i
di,
seluruh
bunga I
kemana
Jek

telah membuat monumen Jelawat Daring dan lain-lain sebagainya. Tetapi didalam monumen ini aku hendak melukiskan juga kerja sama daripada perjuangan rakyat Indonesia dengan perjuangan, dengan bantuan dan jasa-jasa dengan bangsa-bangsa lain didalam revolusi "the great revolution of our Orang sekampung sudah menuduhkan, hh, monumen, tapi bilitas dia. Aku pernah saudara-saudara, terbang dari bumi Bureja ke bumi Amerika. Sebelum masuk kota New York aku melihat

negara berdiri di
Liberty, melukis
masuk pelabuhan
siapa jang datang
Jang mangkijor, j
adalah orang itu
Buat kita juga
Indonesia, namun
tetapi tidak ada
dari Soviet Uni,
projek landasan
erat antara Uni
didunia ini. Ma
tinaga-tinaga Ma
saja mangutjaka
pihak Soviet Uni
sejalah membantu

Kita bangsa
perjuangan lagi
nja tidak menan
benar-benar revol
adalah satu revol
dakan Indonesia
dan makmur di lu
tanpa exploitation
adalah the revol
berjalan terus,
journey's and di
tahun. Kita telah
kekutan imperial
tenaga besar unta
sian Republik. A
baru untuk berusa
kolonialisme Mah
neo-kolonialisme
sama tenaga did
lisme, anti neo-

monumen
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Oleh ka
Indonesia
Revolusi
Jandara
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tenaga m
itu adala
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kekutan
sama kan
bantu ka
bukan sa
Oleh
mengedaka
bekerja
Oleh karo
tenaga-to

italah bangsa Indonesia bekardja keras untuk menghidupkan segenap tenaga New Emerging Forces untuk mengadakan dunia baru ini.

Tidak boleh dan tidak bisa, tidak pantas tua peralihan kepada kami, malah kami tua hadapi dengan combat forces, tenaga-tenaga gabungan imperialis untuk menghantur leburkan kepada kami, sudah barang tentu kami un hendak mengadakan pula dengan combat forces daripada semua tenaga-tenaga progressif didunia ini.

Berulang-ulang saja katakan bahwa revolusi Indonesia ini akan berjaya atau tidak akan berjaya atau tidak akan berjaya atau tidak

Republik Indonesia bersahabat dengan Soviet Uni? Kenapa Republik Indonesia selalu menjatakan rasa sahabat, rasa perkawanan dengan Soviet Uni?

Djawan atas pertanyaan ini saja berikan pendapatja, dan kamudian saja berdin juga didalam satu pidato di Kremlin, waktu saja di Moskow. Di Kremlin pada saat saja mangutjapkan terima kasih saja kepada Soviet Uni, bahwa Soviet ini selalu memberi bantuan kepada perjuangan rakyat Indonesia, saja mengadakan bandingan didalam pada-

to saja
Uni terk
negara li
torus te
dijurusn
asing at
itu, kom
berusaha
sedang
Soviet di
perjuang
ngan rak
Indonesia
supaja di
Soviet di
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didunia
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Oleh ka
Indonesia
Revolusi
Jandara
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Jandara
bikinan
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pemisah
monumen,
bukan m
Oleh ka
Indonesia
Revolusi
Jandara
bikinan
kan sud
seniman

Jandara-Jandara sekalian, juga Jandara Anastas Mikoyan,

Pada hari ini, pada saat ini kita semuanya berkumpul untuk memajukan perorangan daripada monumen Pahlawan, monumen Pahlawan jang berdiri ngah dibelakang saja dihadapan Jandara-Jandara sekalian.

Bahwa monumen ini dinamakan monumen Pahlawan, tak perlu saja uraikan lebih luas kepada Jandara-Jandara sekalian. Monumen ini melukiskan dua pahlawan, pahlawan laki-laki, pahlawan wanita, lambang daripada perjuangan bangsa Indonesia merdeka kemerdekaan, lambang daripada perjuangan bangsa Indonesia mengadakan satu masyarakat jang adil dan makmur, lambang daripada perjuangan bangsa Indonesia bersama-sama dengan bangsa-bangsa lain mendirikan satu dunia baru jang didalamnya manusia hidup bahagia, jang didalamnya tidak exploitation de l'homme par l'homme dan exploitation de nation par nation.

Apk jang dikatakan oleh Jandara Mikoyan adalah benar. Joss daripada monumen ini datangja dari saja, idee dan sketsa daripada monumen ini datangja dari saja. Pesta-pesta patung-patung dan landa-landa dikerdjakan oleh seniman-seniman Soviet Uni jang terasnjara, jaitu Maxim Gorky, putranya dan senitrek Jordan.

Saja Jandara-Jandara, sebagai Jandara-Jandara sekalian mangatahui adalah orang-pengarang monumen, sehingga takkala saja mangawaji satu untuk mendirikan satu monumen Pahlawan di Djakarta, sudah barang tentu pikiran saja melajeng kekanan dan kekiri sentjari orang atau orang-orang jang hendak atep pendak, tjalap, Mies, dapat, mangawaji idee jang terkandung didalam kalbu saja ini.

Ditolongkan bangsa Indonesia sendiri kita mempunyai seniman-seniman jang alung, seniman patung jang ulung. Seniman-Seniman mangatahui bahwa monumen Jelawat Daring jang berdiri dihadapan Hotel Indonesia adalah hasil karya seniman Indonesia. Jandara mangatahui bahwa monumen Trian Birat jang berdiri dengan ngah ditengah-tengah lapangan Banteng, adalah hasil daripada seniman Indonesia.

Tetapi buat monumen Pahlawan ini, saja djuga ingin meletakkan tekanan kata, bahwa perjuangan bangsa Indonesia itu mangapai bantuan daripada bangsa lain. Loh karena itu maka takkala saja mangajari seniman-seniman jang harus melukiskan, merealisasikan idee dan sketsa saja itu, saja melanjut lebur pagar, mangajari kepada seniman-seniman lain bangsa. Dan pertama kali maka saja saja tedjukan kepada Soviet Uni, oleh karena Soviet ini sedjak kita mengadakan perjuangan, sudah memberi bantuan kepada bangsa Indonesia, kepada perjuangan rakyat Indonesia.

Saja Jandara-Jandara, sudah dihadapi oleh pertanyaan seorang wartawan asing, jang bertanya kepada saja, Presiden Achmed, kenapa Republik Indonesia

not.790/64.-

AMALAH RUM PRESIDEN JAWAB PADA PERTANYAAN "TITUNG PAHLAWAN" DI PARLAMAN KERTING WAKARTA, 24 JUNI 1964.



API CUBANA [CUBAN FIRE]



Lyric & composition by Sudharnoto, circa 1963. Performed by Paduan Suara LEKRA (LEKRA Choir; Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat/ People's Cultural Institute). Published in the album *Pilihan Lagu-lagu yang Diperdengarkan oleh Rombongan Njanji dan Tari LEKRA Indonesia di Tiongkok* (*A Selection of Songs that Were Performed by LEKRA Indonesia's Dance and Choir in China*), that was a souvenir from their cultural diplomacy trip to Beijing, 1963. Digitized by Anton Lucas, now accessible in the special collection of Flinders University Library, Adelaide. English translations by Hyphen—, Thai translation by Chanapol Janhom.

-> <https://soundcloud.com/ansambel-gembira/api-cubana>

Api Cubana dengarkan dunia!

Dari Havana berkobar nyala

Membakar semangat rakyat merdeka
Menentang nafsu angkara murka
Dengar Cubana membelah bumi!
Menggugah insan yang cinta damai
Dengan suara bunyi genderang
Pertanda bangsa sedang berjuang
Rakyatmu bangkit (bersatu padu)
Wanita pria (serentak maju)

Martabat Bangsa (dalam bahaya)
Musuh mengintai menanti mangsa
Api Cubana pasti gemilang
¡Venceremos! kita kan menang
Patriot muda merintis jalan
Sampai tetes darah penghabisan

Flame of Cubana, hear the world!

From Havana, the fire burns bright

Igniting the spirit of a free people
Defying the greed of ruthless might
Hear Cubana resound through the earth!
Awakening those who cherish peace
With the sound of the battle drums
A sign that a nation fights to rise
Your people stand (united strong)
Men and women (march as one)

The nation's pride (is in danger)
Enemies lurk, waiting to strike
Flame of Cubana will surely shine
¡Venceremos! We shall win!
Young patriots pave the way
Until the last drop of blood is shed!

เปลวไฟแห่งคิวบา จงสดับฟังโลก!

จากฮาวานา เปลวไฟลุกโชติช่วง

จุดประกายจิตวิญญาณแห่งเสรีภาพ
ต่อต้านความโหดร้ายและความละโมภของทรราช
สดับฟังคิวบา ดังก้องไปทั่วผืนแผ่นดิน!
ปลุกจิตวิญญาณของผู้รักสันติ
ด้วยเสียงกลองศึกที่ดังกระหึ่ม
เป็นสัญญาณว่าชนชาตินี้ยังคงต่อสู้
ประชาชนลุกขึ้น! (รวมพลังเป็นหนึ่งเดียว)
ชายและหญิง! (ก้าวไปข้างหน้าพร้อมกัน)

ศักดิ์ศรีของชาติ! (กำลังตกอยู่ในอันตราย)
ศัตรูข่มขอน รอเวลาลงมือ
เปลวไฟแห่งคิวบาจะลุกโชติช่วงแน่นอน
¡Venceremos! เราจะมีชัย!
เหล่าวีรชนหนุ่มสาวปูทางสู่เสรีภาพ
แม้ต้องแลกด้วยเลือดหยดสุดท้าย!



As the Cold War grew more intense, on April 16, 1961, President Sukarno embarked on a long state visit. Over two and a half months, he visited Muang Thai (Thailand), the United States, Mexico, Panama, Ecuador, Bolivia, Uruguay, Brasília, Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Austria, Ireland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, and the People's Republic of China.

In the United States, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China, President Sukarno discussed the West Irian issue. His talks with President Kennedy in the U.S. did not lead to any agreement. Meanwhile, in the Soviet Union and the PRC, both of which supported Indonesia in reclaiming West Irian, the meetings focused on strengthening diplomatic ties.

Although Indonesia officially followed a non-aligned policy during the Cold War, Sukarno was closer to the Eastern Bloc, especially through his cooperation with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. His political tours were not just about building diplomatic ties but also about navigating international dynamics to strengthen Indonesia's position and influence, particularly in the fight to reclaim West Irian from the Netherlands.

Media clippings of President Sukarno's political safari journey to various countries over two and a half months, including the United States, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China (1961)

Scanned by, archived by, and courtesy of Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia (National Library of Indonesia).

Merdeka

Suara Rakyat Republik Indonesia

BERITA 17 APRIL 1961 - 1 ZILKAJAH 1361

& Rombongan Berangkat Ke L.N.
PERDJALANAN MUHIBAH DAN
KEBERBAGAI NEGARA DIDUNIA

ngatkan Akan
12 Djadi Inti
an Indonesia

KARTAS 16 April (PIA).—
Sukarno dalam perangnya terakhir se-
Indonesia hari Minggu pagi un-
tama muhibah dan politik keber-
selama dua setengah bulan sekali
haya akan tiga kerangka lang-
mangan bangsa Indonesia. "Ke-
presiden adalah tiga2 rutro
kita, presiden sampai Merah Putih di
samping Sang Merah Putih di
samping perikma yang bermi-
dari bangsa Indonesia itu ha-
murnanya kolaborasi.



Sebelum Presiden Sukarno bertolak briar. Seperti an-
tik mengakhiri perjalanannya muhibah di Istana Merdeka telah
pidakan sambutan berupa jabatan Presiden kepada M.P. It

Sektor Pemboman Di Kuba
Psw. Pembom B-26
Serang Kota2 Di Kuba
Castro Segera Dekritkan
Mobilisasi Umum

Kuba 16 April
(UPI-AP-PA)
PESAWAT
yang berjenis dua dari golongan
serang kota2 dari Kuba
Serikat telah menyerang dua in-
per terapan, untuk dapat di-
sua Kuba puning oleh sek-
an2 yang menanggapi

Perdana menteri Jose Canse-
dengan segera mobilisasi un-
mobilisasi umum dari golongan
yang berjenis dua dari golongan
Pawak2 insure dan milia m-
in bersikap kawatir oleh
berbagai terhadap tembak-
adanya perburuan dari laut.

Pawak2 pemone terdapat u-
lah mengumpul kuali Havana,
Santiago di Kuba Timur dan
Anson de la Roca 20 mil se-
belah barat Havana dalam se-
yang2 yang dimuat pada
hari.

Serang2 yang paling hebat
dimainkan oleh Kuba Timur
Kuba Havana. Dua wing ter-
masuknya dan jumlah ter-
bilang banyak dari per-
yang menyerang. Di
dapat oleh
nial terbang perior-
Chambers dan 30
dan 30

8 Partai Diakr
2 Ditangguh

PROSEDUR pemilihan
sebelumnya dan 1955
yang kemudian per-
sua pemilih yang
sangat.

Progra
siden



President Sukarno posing for a photo with Yuri Gagarin (first from the left), Nikita Khrushchev (second from the left), and Leonid Brezhnev (first from the right)
Taken from Wikimedia Commons.



President Sukarno with his entourage at Red Square in Moscow
Photo by Valery Shustov, taken from RIA Novosti.



President Sukarno is having a conversation with Yuri Gagarin (first from the left), Valentina Tereshkova (third from the left), and Soviet officials
Photo by Valery Shustov, taken from RIA Novosti.

President Sukarno and President John F. Kennedy rode in an open car Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland

Photo by Abbie Rowe, taken from John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum.



President Sukarno and President John F. Kennedy at Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland

Photo by Abbie Rowe, taken from John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum.

President Sukarno and President John F. Kennedy photographed together outside the north entrance to the White House

Photo by Abbie Rowe, taken from John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum.





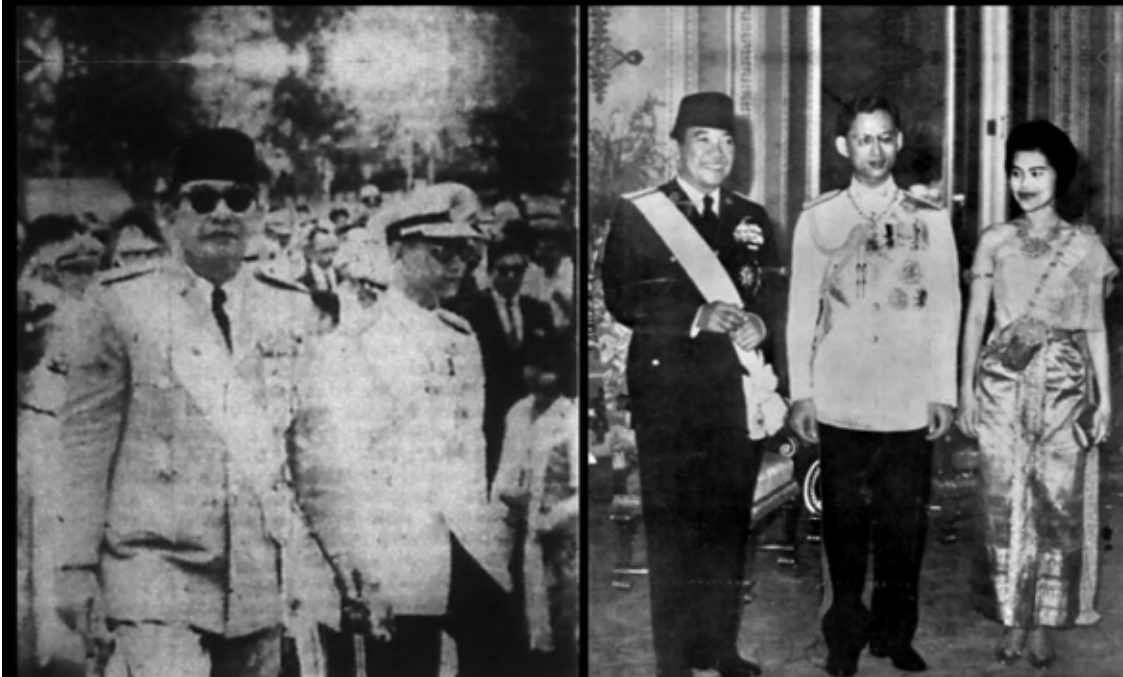
President Sukarno met Mao Zedong in Beijing during his 1951 visit
 Reproduced from *Revolusi, Diplomasi, Diaspora: Indonesia, Tiongkok, dan Etnik Tionghoa, 1945-1967* [Migration in the Time of Revolution: China, Indonesia, and the Cold War] by Taomo Zhou.



Chairman Liu Shaoqi received the First-Class Medal of the Republic of Indonesia from President Sukarno
 Taken from liushaoqi.cn

President Sukarno in a conversation with officials of the People's Republic of China, including Mao Zedong
 Taken from *Peking Review*.





**President Sukarno with King Bhumibol Adulyadej and
standing with the King and his wife, Queen Sirikit**
Taken from *thailandembasyjakarta.com*.



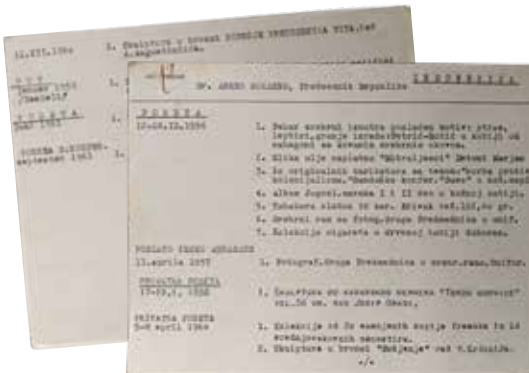
**President Sukarno and King Bhumibol Adulyadej at
Chitralada Railway Station during the 1961 visit**
Taken from *railway.co.th*.







Josip Broz Tito's gifts



List of gifts from Josip Broz Tito to Sukarno

These inventory cards were made by Josip Broz Tito's cabinet staff between 1956-1961. This list has been generated by the courtesy of the Museum of Yugoslavia (with thanks to Bojana Piškur, Modern Galerija, Ljubljana).

Selection of Sukarno's speeches in regards to the gifts Reproduced from and courtesy of ANRI.



23 December 1958

Welcome dinner for Yugoslavia's President Josip Broz Tito and the First Lady Jovanka Broz at the Merdeka Palace, Jakarta, The speech highlights: Peoples of Asia and Africa no longer subjugated and dominated (by imperialism and colonization); growth of socialist states all over the world; the birth of what he termed as 'atomic revolution'.



23 December 1958

On the arrival of Yugoslavia's President Josip Broz Tito and the First Lady Jovanka Broz at Tanjung Priok Harbour, Jakarta.





5 January 1961

Thanking Yugoslavia's Ambassador for Indonesia Stane Pavlič for a statue from President Josip Broz Tito as a new year gift.



15 December 1962

On the final dinner of Yugoslavia's Deputy Prime Minister Edvard Kardelj (acknowledged as Yugoslavia's Vice President in the speech), held in the Hotel Indonesia, Jakarta. Highlighting the recurring visits that both presidents have done over the years; faithfulness to the Afro-Asian Conference values that are termed as the 'Bandung principles'; short introduction on the concept of the New Emerging Forces as a continuation of people's struggles for freedom.



17 January 1963

On the final dinner of Czechoslovakia's President Antonín Novotný, held in the Hotel Indonesia, Jakarta. Highlighting its recently signed cooperation agreement that reflects the friendship between Czechoslovakia and Indonesia; as well as 'Lanterna magica' (a kind of magical light that kept the diverse religion, ethnic, language united as an Indonesian nation).



LAGU PERSAHABATAN TIONGKOK-INDONESIA
[CHINESE-INDONESIAN FRIENDSHIP SONG]



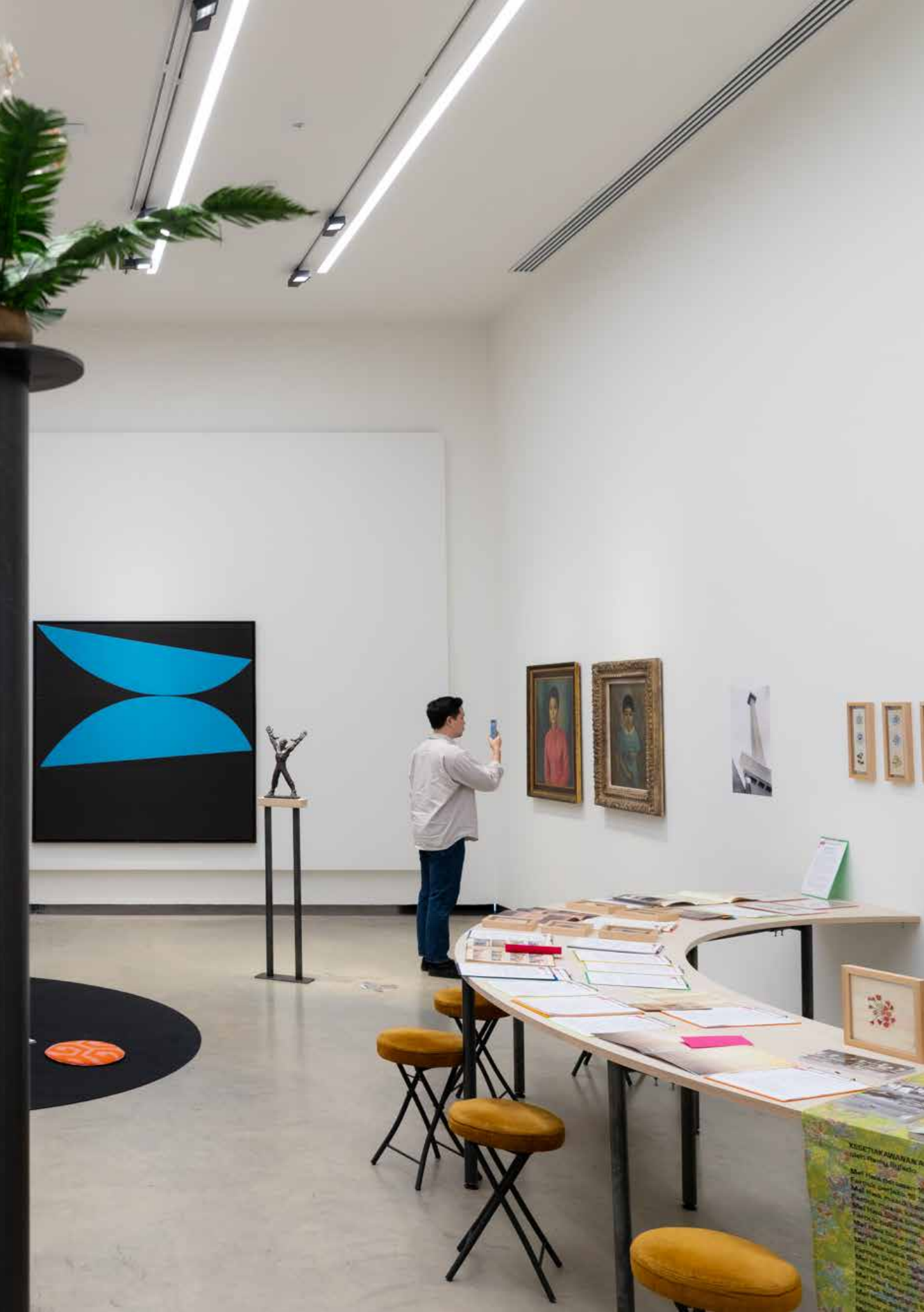
Lyric & composition by Szuma Wensen - Make 1963. Performed by Paduan Suara LEKRA (LEKRA Choir; Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat/People's Cultural Institute). Published in the album *Pilihan Lagu-lagu yang Diperdengarkan oleh Rombongan Njanji dan Tari LEKRA Indonesia di Tiongkok* (*A Selection of Songs that Were Performed by LEKRA Indonesia's Dance and Choir in China*), that was a souvenir from their cultural diplomacy trip to Beijing, 1963. Digitized by Anton Lucas, now accessible in the special collection of Flinders University Library, Adelaide. English translations by Hyphen—, Thai translation by Chanapol Janhom.

Dengar, Yangtze menderu
 Laut kita, jauh
 Tanah Jawa, biru
 Bening, indah, kalbu
 Mari sambut sebakar demi persahabatan
 Damai datang membawa rakyat persaudaraan
 Agar persahabatan kita
 Agar Tiongkok-Indonesia
 Sejak dulu kita tetaplah bersahabat
 Sejak dulu kita kawan seperjuangan
 Panji konferensi selalu kita junjung tinggi
 Bersatu, berjuang, untuk selama-lamanya
 Agar persahabatan kita
 Agar Tiongkok-Indonesia
 Panji konferensi selalu kita junjung tinggi
 Bersatu, berjuang, tak akan tersiksa lagi
 Bangkitlah rakyat ala Amerika Latin
 Melawan imperialis, kolonialis
 Hingga menang, awal akhir

ฟังเถิด แวงซีตำราม
 มหาสมุทรของเรา กว้างไกล
 แผ่นดินชาว สิบคราม
 ใสสะอาด งดงาม เปี่ยมด้วยหัวใจ
 ขอให้เรารื้อรับและเผยแพร่มิตรภาพ
 สันติภาพมาถึง นำพาผู้คนให้เป็นพี่น้องกัน
 เพื่อให้มิตรภาพของเรายังคงอยู่
 เพื่อให้จีนและอินโดนีเซียเป็นหนึ่งเดียวกัน
 ตั้งแต่โบราณกาล เราเป็นเพื่อนกันเสมอ
 ตั้งแต่โบราณกาล เราเป็นสหายร่วมต่อสู้
 ธงแห่งการประชุม เราจะยกไว้สูงเสมอ
 เรารวมพลัง เราสู้ไปตลอดกาล
 เพื่อให้มิตรภาพของเรายังคงอยู่
 เพื่อให้จีนและอินโดนีเซียเป็นหนึ่งเดียวกัน
 ธงแห่งการประชุม เราจะยกไว้สูงเสมอ
 เรารวมพลัง เราสู้ไป ไม่ต้องทนทุกข์อีกต่อไป
 จงลุกขึ้นเถิด เหล่าประชาชนแห่ง ลาตินอเมริกา
 ต่อต้านจักรวรรดินิยม ล่าอาณานิคม
 จนกว่าชัยชนะจะเป็นของเรา ตั้งแต่ต้นจนจบ

Listen, the Yangtze roars
 Our ocean, far
 The land of Java, blue
 Clear, beautiful, heartfelt
 Let us welcome and spread for the sake of friendship
 Peace arrives, bringing people together in brotherhood
 So that our friendship remains
 For China and Indonesia
 Since long ago, we have always been friends
 Since long ago, we have been comrades in struggle.
 The banner of the conference we shall always uphold
 United, we keep fighting, forevermore
 So that our friendship remains For China and Indonesia
 The banner of the conference we shall always uphold
 United, we fight, never to suffer again
 Rise, people, like Latin America
 Resist imperialists, colonialists
 Until victory, from beginning till the end









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